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STUDIES IN NEW MEXICAN SPANISH  
PART I: PHONOLOGY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS  
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE)

BY

AURELIO M. ESPINOSA

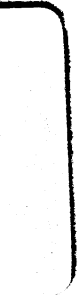
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## Preface.

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These New Mexican studies represent the labors of several years among the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of New Mexico and Southern Colorado. The territory covered by our studies includes all of New Mexico north of Socorro, with Santa Fé as a center, and the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado, as indicated on the map by the inner line (see page 6). The outer line covers, in a general way, the entire New Mexican territory. The Spanish-speaking population of the territory studied is about 150,000, while the total number of Spanish-speaking inhabitants of New Mexico and Southern Colorado, is a little over 250,000, of which some 50,000 are found in Colorado.

Our method throughout will be comparative, and the subject is studied in the light of historical Spanish Grammar. Part II, Morphology, will follow.

To acknowledge my gratitude to Professor Karl Pietsch of the University of Chicago for help and guidance throughout my work, is to record but a small part of the debt which I owe him. I also wish to thank Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins of the same university for many useful suggestions.

Chicago, April, 1909.

AURELIO M. ESPINOSA.

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#### V. Unpublished Manuscripts.

- Aparición de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. A New Mexican manuscript of a Coloquio, probably composed in New Mexico.
- Acto Sacramental ó La primera Persecución de Jesús*. A New Mexican manuscript of an old Spanish auto, valuable for its numerous New Mexican forms.
- Cancionero Popular Nuevo Mejicano*. A collection of about five hundred New Mexican Spanish „versos“, collected by the author of this study.

## VI. Spanish newspapers.

Among the Spanish newspapers published in New Mexico and Colorado, the following, furnish valuable material for the study of New Mexican Spanish:

*El Nuevo Mejicano*, Santa Fé, N. M.  
*La Bandera americana*, Albuquerque, N. M.  
*El Independiente*, Las Vegas, N. M.  
*La Luz*, Española, N. M.  
*La Opinion pública*, Albuquerque, N. M.  
*La Voz del Pueblo*, Las Vegas, N. M.

*El Herald del Valle*, Las Cruces, N. M.  
*La Revista de Taos*, Taos, N. M.  
*El Hispano-Americano*, Roy N. M.  
*La Via industrial*, Antonito, Colo.  
*La Opinion pública*, Walsenburg, Colo.  
*El Triunfo*, Antonito, Colo.



THE NEW MEXICAN SPANISH TERRITORY.

## Introduction.

§ 1. New Mexican Spanish is the dialect spoken by the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of New Mexico and Southern Colorado. Within the territory covered by our study (see Preface and Map) the language is fairly uniform, the differences being few, and as a rule unimportant.<sup>1</sup> This dialect is for the most part a Castilian dialect. While it is undoubtedly true that in New Mexico, as in all parts of Spanish America, a mixture of Spanish dialects is found at the source, the language of Castile was almost universal and certainly official in the Spanish Peninsula and in Spanish America during the XVth and XVIth centuries, so that, while there were many dialectic peculiarities among the first settlers of Spanish America, the Castilian was used by all. To be exact, the sources of New Mexican Spanish are to be found in the Spanish of the XVth and XVI centuries (as then represented by its many dialects) and of these the most important are, as we shall see, 1. the Castilian, 2. the Andalusian, 3. the northern dialects of Asturias, Santander and León, 4. the Galician and 5. the western Spanish-Portuguese dialects. To these original and more important sources must be added the influences which the language underwent afterwards in America (see § 6).

§ 2. The Spaniards occupied Mexico early in the 16th century (1521) and until the beginning of the 19th century (1821), it remained a Spanish province. According to Bancroft, the early settlers were from Castile, Andalusia and Estremadura, while later colonization was from the northern provinces, Catalonia and Galicia.<sup>2</sup> These settlers first occupied Mexico to the north and south but soon flourishing colonies were to be found in all parts. Of these colonies one of the most successful was the so-called Provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya, in northern Mexico, which included all of the modern states of Chihuahua and Durango with parts of Sonora and Sinaloa.<sup>3</sup> To the north of this province was the Provincia de la Nueva México (New Mexico) and to the east and south the Provincia de la Nueva Galicia.

The names Nueva Vizcaya and Nueva Galicia may indicate that some of the original settlers were from Vizcaya and Galicia, but the

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter VI, § 266.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, Vol. III, p. 744.

<sup>3</sup> „*El Estado de Chihuahua unido con el de Durango, formaban antiguamente la provincia de Nueva Vizcaya*“. Escudero, *Noticias estadísticas del Estado de Chihuahua*, p. 7. See also Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, Vol. I, p. 304.

names are by no means conclusive. All that is certain is, as Brancroft tells us, that the latter Spanish immigrants were from Vizcaya, Galicia and the Santander mountains, and since La Nueva Vizcaya and La Nueva Galicia were late settlements, it is very probable that many of the latter immigrants settled in the new provinces, together, of course, with settlers from other parts of Spain and Central Mexico.

§ 3. New Mexico was one of the first places visited by the Spanish conquistadores. Although there is no definite proof, it is highly probable that Cabeza de Vaca visited New Mexico in 1536. In 1540, however, Coronado visited the country and this may be taken as the first appearance of the Spaniards in the territory. The expedition of Coronado was followed by several unsuccessful attempts at settlement, the most important being that of Espejo in 1582.<sup>1</sup> It was in the year 1598 that the first permanent Spanish settlement was made, when Juan de Oñate, with about four hundred men, one hundred and fifty of whom were accompanied by their wives and families, marched up the Rio Grande and after many hardships and numerous battles with the Indians, settled at San Juan de los Caballeros, near the junction of the Chama river with the Rio Grande, about thirty miles north of Santa Fé.<sup>2</sup>

§ 4. The colonists who accompanied Oñate were from the north Mexican provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Nueva Galicia, together with immigrants from other parts of Spain and Mexico. The colony flourished and became a center for new settlers. San Juan de los Caballeros was made the capital of the new province and the Taos Valley and Santa Cruz became populous districts. Spanish colonists continued to arrive from Mexico and Spain, until Santa Fé and other towns were established.

In the year 1680, however, a terrible Indian rebellion drove all the Spaniards out of New Mexico to the south, and it was not until 1692 that the country was again occupied. Antonio de Vargas reconquered the province in 1692 and rallying the inhabitants who had fled in 1680, he returned with a colony of eight hundred persons, consisting of two hundred soldiers and about seventy families with

<sup>1</sup> Gaspar de Villagr , p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> The events connected with this first settlement of New Mexico by Juan de Oñate are written in verse, in the famous New Mexico epic of Gaspar de Villagr , one of the companions of Oñate. The title of this important historical epic is *La Historia de la Nueva M jico*. It consists of thirty-four cantos. The first edition was published at Alcal  de Henares in 1610. See my edition of *Los Comanches*, p. 5, n. 1.

men, women and children.<sup>1</sup> Many of these were the same people who had fled in 1680, or descendants of the colonists who entered New Mexico with Oñate in 1598.

§ 5. The Spanish-speaking inhabitants who have occupied northern New Mexico since 1598 and permanently since 1692 represented then, as we have shown, several Spanish dialects, i. e., 1. Castilian, 2. Andalusian, 3. Northern Spanish dialects of Asturias, León, etc., 4. Galician, 5. Western Spanish-Portuguese dialects.<sup>2</sup> But while historical evidence gives us ample reason to place the sources of New Mexican Spanish in these Spanish dialects,<sup>3</sup> yet it is not absolutely conclusive that these were the only sources. In fact it is very probable that in New Mexico, as in other parts of Spanish America, the dialects represent nearly all the dialects of Spain, though of course it is true that not all were everywhere equally represented. In our New Mexican studies we shall see that the linguistic facts confirm the historical data, but traces of other dialects often appear.

§ 6. The sources of New Mexican Spanish are to be found then, in the Spanish of the XVth and XVIth centuries, and this will be taken as the basis of our study wherever it is possible. The lack of complete records of the old Spanish dialects and of the modern dialects of Spain and America makes it often impossible to draw definite conclusions. It is very probable that many of the changes found in New Mexican Spanish date from the old Spanish period. Again, the statements of dialectologists, both old and modern, have been often too general, to be of use. A comparison of New Mexican Spanish with the older Spanish of the XIVth and XVth centuries as recorded in literature, shows many points of similarity and many divergences, but it is likely that the differences would diminish if a complete record of the popular Spanish of the old dialects existed. A comparison with modern Castilian also shows many striking differences, but here again we must consider carefully the circumstances. In the first place, the spoken Castilian of the popular sort is not completely recorded, and it is very probable that many of the

<sup>1</sup> Bancroft, *History of New Mexico and Arizona*, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> While Leonese, Galician and other Spanish dialects have some elements entirely different in origin from the Castilian (cf. Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto leonés*, p. 1), Andalusian is only a later development of the Castilian, cf. Meyer-Lübke I, § 15.

<sup>3</sup> It is well also to observe that these dialects were probably represented in different chronological stages, since Spanish immigration to America began in the XVIth century and continued to the beginning of the XVIIIth century.

phenomena existing in New Mexican Spanish exist also in the dialects of Castile. In the second place, modern Castilian cannot be taken as the starting point. Since the XVth century, New Mexican Spanish has changed much from the Spanish brought to New Mexico at that time, but modern Castilian is also much changed from the Castilian Spanish of the XVth and XVIth centuries, and it is well to observe that in many instances, as we shall see throughout our work, modern Castilian has changed a large number of words, into forms somewhat different from the older classic Spanish of the XVth and XVIth and even of the XVIIth centuries, while New Mexican Spanish and other dialects have preserved many of these classic forms with remarkable tenacity. It is a source of delight to the student of Spanish philology to hear daily from the mouths of New Mexicans such words as *agora*, *ansi*, *ansina*, *naidien*, *traidrá*, *lamber*, *ivierno*, *trujo*, *escrebir*, *adrede*, *cuasi*, *entención*, *comigo*, *ay*, *pus*, *unque*, *dende*, *mesmo*, *quese* (QUE ES DE), *escuro*, *dijieron*, *vide*, *vía* (VEÍA), etc. All these words will be discussed in their proper places.

§ 7. Besides the main sources of New Mexican Spanish already mentioned, we must not forget the influences which the language underwent later in America. The Nahuatl Indian language of Mexico had some influence on the Spanish in Mexico during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, when the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of northern Mexico were emigrating to New Mexico. A large number of words in New Mexican Spanish, as in the Spanish of Mexico, are therefore of Nahuatl origin, but no perceptible influence can be traced in syntax or pronunciation.<sup>1</sup>

Since 1846, New Mexico has been a part of the United States of North America, and the Spanish-speaking inhabitants have been in direct and necessary contact with the English language, which has, in the brief period of fifty years, already influenced New Mexican Spanish in many respects, especially in vocabulary.

The changes from English into Spanish are very interesting and offer many points of comparison with the changes observed in the passage of words from Germanic into Old Spanish. For these reasons, this matter is treated in a separate chapter.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The indigenous languages of New Mexico had little influence on New Mexican Spanish. The writer has noted only some ten words of New Mexican Indian source. Hills, *New Mexican Spanish*, p. 1, has entirely misrepresented the facts.

<sup>2</sup> Out of a vocabulary of about fourteen hundred dialect forms peculiar to New Mexican Spanish, compiled by the present writer, one thousand are of Spanish,

## Part I.

## Phonology.

## Chapter I. Accent.

§ 8. When two vowels were found together in Vulgar Latin, either from an original contiguous group, or resulting from the fall of an intervocalic consonant, the accent had a tendency to fall on the more sonorous.<sup>1</sup> In Old Spanish this law was of primary importance, the exceptions being very few, and the popular language has made it a law nearly everywhere. When the contiguous vowels were of equal sonority the accent usually fell on the last in Old Spanish, and the popular language in nearly all the dialects studied has applied this rule also.

§ 9. In accordance with these principles, the following changes in accent are found in New Mexican Spanish.<sup>2</sup>

The question as to whether the New Mexican forms are modern developments or date from the Old Spanish period, or from 15th and 16th centuries, is a very difficult one to settle, but it is very probable that many of these phenomena date at the latest, from the XVth century, since they are common to nearly all the modern Spanish dialects both of Spain and America.<sup>3</sup>

a) From the second vowel of a vowel-compound to the preceding stronger vowel:

Castilian ALLÍ, AHÍ > N. M. S. *ai*,<sup>4</sup> PAÍS, RAÍZ, etc. > *pais, rais*,<sup>5</sup>  
MAESTRO, CAER > *maistro, cae(r)*.

three hundred of English, some seventy-five of Nahuatl origin, some ten of native New Mexican Indian origin, and fifteen of doubtful source. This vocabulary will be published at some future time.

<sup>1</sup> See Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, § 198; Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 136; Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 6, (2), Meyer-Lübke I, §§ 593, 598.

<sup>2</sup> Since an exact basis of comparison is necessary, the standard modern Castilian of the Academy has been chosen, keeping in mind that the real basis is the Spanish of the 15th and 16th centuries. The modern Castilian will be referred to as modern Spanish.

<sup>3</sup> The New Mexican Spanish phenomena observed in § 9 are, for the most part, found also in Bogotá, cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §§ 71-122; Mexico, cf. Marden, *The Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 1; Chile, cf. Lenz, *Chilenische Studien*, I, 273 fol.; Aragón, cf. *Cantas Baturras*, G. Arista y Rivera, pp. 38, 43, 65; Andalusia, cf. Schuchardt, *Die Cantos Flamencos*, in *Zs. V.*, 313, Asturias, Vizcaya, cf. Mugica, *Dial. Cast.*, 41; Buenos Aires etc., cf. Meyer-Lübke I, § 598.

<sup>4</sup> The N. M. Sp. form *ai* may be either *allí* or *at* (both occurring in Old Spanish), with the shifting of the accent to the more sonorous vowel, or a preserva-



b) From a weak vowel to a following strong vowel:

PERÍODO > *periodo*, PARECÍA > *pareciá*,<sup>1</sup> OCEANO > *ociano*.

The fall of an intervocalic consonant explains such accentuations as:

TRAJERON > *trajeon* > N. M. S. *trajión*, SEMILLA > *semía* > N. M. S. *semiá*.<sup>2</sup>

c) From tonic *e* to atonic *a* in all words of two syllables ending in *ea* or *eo*, when in unemphatic position:

VEA, SEA, LEA > *viá*, *siá*, *liá*,<sup>3</sup> DE ELLA > *d' ea* > *diá*, TAN FEO > *tan fió*, NO ME PASEO > *no me pasió* etc.

§ 10. In Vulgar Latin, a vowel before an explosive + *r* was never left unaccented.<sup>4</sup> Examples: Lat. TĒNĒBRAE > V. L. *tenēbrae*; Lat. CĀTHĒDRA > V. L. *catēdra*.

This law appears to be in operation in N. M. S. in the following words, which were probably of learned origin in Spanish:

CÉLEBRE > *celebre*, IDÓLATRA > *idolatra*.

§ 11. In the first person plural of the present subjunctive (when the forms have more than two syllables), New Mexican Spanish has the accent on the antepenult instead of on the penult:

TENGAMOS > *ténganos*,<sup>5</sup> HABLEMOS > *háblenos*, VAYAMOS > *váyanos*.

§ 12. Other changes: a) From antepenultima to penultima:

ÁRABE > *arabe*, CRÁNEO > *craneo*, HÉROE > *heroe*,<sup>6</sup> ÓPALO > *opalo* > *opal*, PARÁLIZIS > *paralixis* > *paralix*.

tion of an already developed *ái*. *ai* (*ai* or *ái*) < Latin AD + HIC (Körting 4569) occurs since the 14th century, cf. Juan Ruiz 16, 61, 137 and Juan Manuel, *Lucanor*, 290. It is, of course, frequent in the XVth and XVIth centuries, cf. *Calisto e Melibea*, 2, 3, Lope de Rueda, *Obras*, 38, 43, *Don Quixote*, 19, 37, 74. In the XIVth century *ai*, *ay* = *ai*, at least in Castile, for in Juan Ruiz, *Copla 775*, *ay* occurs in rhyme with *ansi*, *aqú*, *d mí*.

<sup>5</sup> For the exact pronunciation of N. M. Sp. vowels, and consonants, see Chapters II, III; we are concerned here only with accent.

<sup>1</sup> In the imperfect endings, *ía* > *íá* in vulgar speech, but *ía* is also common.

<sup>2</sup> In all cases we give only a few typical examples to show the different changes: it is unnecessary to give complete lists of all words that change.

<sup>3</sup> For *e* > *i* see § 83.

<sup>4</sup> See M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 6 and Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, §§ 132, 134.

<sup>5</sup> For the *m* > *n* see § 142. The shifting of the accent to the antepenult, is by analogy with the singular, and occurs also in Spain and Bogotá, cf. Cuervo, *Apunt.*, § 282 and M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 115, (2).

<sup>6</sup> Found also in Columbia and also in classic Spanish, cf. Cuervo, *Apunt.*, § 66.

b) From penultima to ultima:

ALMÍBAR > *almibar*.

c) From ultima to penultima:

PENTECOSTÉS > *pentecostes*.

Both accentuations are used in literature, though the Academy prefers the first. See Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 27.

d) From ultima to antepenultima:

OJALÁ > *ójala* or *ójali* (< OJALÁ + Y).

e) A final disyllabic vowel compound is made monosyllabic and the accent falls back one syllable:

PENITENCIARÍA > *penitensaria*, TEQUÍO > *téquio*.

f) From penultima to antepenultima:

MENDÍGO > *méndigo*, VAHÍDO > *váguido*.

*Váguido*, as Cuervo points out<sup>1</sup> is the classical form, and is found in all Spanish America. *Vahido*, however, is preferred by modern writers.

## Chapter II. Vowels.

### I. Oral Vowels.

#### § 13. Table of New Mexican Spanish vowels.<sup>2</sup>

		Front	Mixed	Back
High vowels	Oral	[i]		[u]
	Nasal	[ɪ]		[ũ]
Mid vowels	Oral	[e] [i]	[ɛ]	[ɯ] [o]
	Nasal	[ɛ̃] [ĩ]		[ũ]
Low vowels	Oral	[ɛ] [œ]	[a]	[ɔ]
	Nasal	[ɛ̃] [œ̃]		[õ]
	Oral		[a]	[a]
	Nasal		[ã]	[ã]
Consonants		[ɰ], § 109	[ɯ], § 103.	

<sup>1</sup> *Apuntaciones*, § 67 d.

<sup>2</sup> For the value of New Mexican Spanish consonants, see Chapter III. Other signs and abbreviations used in our work are familiar to all and need not to be explained.

§ 14. The vowel *a* has, in New Mexican Spanish, five values, three oral and two nasal sounds.

1. [a] This is a guttural *a*, resembling the *a* in French *pas*, and the most common in New Mexican Spanish. This open sound is usually given to *a* when it is tonic (except when final in a word, see [a̠]) and when before or after a guttural consonant. Examples: ALGO > [algɔ], SACO > [sakɔ], ESTAR > [ɛstar].

2. [ã] The same as the above but nasalized. For the nasal vowels, see §§ 20-34.

3. [a̠] This sound approaches the French *a* in *gare*. The tongue is raised slightly from the flat position as found in [a] and the result is a less guttural sound. This sound of *a* is always found in New Mexican Spanish when *a* is final and tonic in a word. It may also occur when not final, after labial consonants, whether tonic or atonic. Examples: SERÁ > [será̠], HABLO > [a̠volɔ], BALA > [ba̠la̠].

4. [ã̠] The same as the above, but nasalized.

5. [a̡] This is an obscure sound approaching the *e* of French *le*, when slowly pronounced and with a lower position of the tongue. This sound is frequently given to *a*, when in unemphatic syllables and in rapid speech. It is rare when initial, but it is frequent immediately before tonic *a* of the following syllable.<sup>1</sup> Examples: CIUDADANO > [sui̡da̡na̡nɔ], LAVADERO > la̡va̡de̡ro̡, MÁTALA > [ma̡ta̡la̡], LA VÍ AYER > [la̡ vi̡ á̡jer]. See also [ɛ̡].

§ 15. The vowel *e* has in New Mexican Spanish seven values, five oral and two nasal sounds.

1. [ɛ] This sound approximates the French *e* in *fer*. It is an open front *e*, and is found in most closed syllables, and also in the final tonic syllable of a word. Examples: EL > [ɛl], VEN > [vɛn], SERVIR > [sɛrvir], NO VE > [nɔ vé], SE FUÉ > [sɛ fué].

2. [ɛ̃] The same as the above but nasalized.

3. [ɛ̠] This is the normal New Mexican Spanish closed *e*, being practically the Castilian closed *e* of open syllables.<sup>2</sup> This [ɛ̠] is found in all open syllables, (except the final tonic syllable in a word, see [ɛ̠]). Examples: SENO > [sɛ̠nɔ], DA LE > [da̠le̠].

According to Araujo, final tonic *e* is closed in Castilian, whereas in New Mexican Spanish, as has been said, it is pronouncedly open.

<sup>1</sup> The statement of Josselyn, *Études de Phonétique espagnole*, pp. 10-11, that in Castilian pretonic *a* has the same sound as tonic *a* is very interesting. Araujo finds both obscure *a* and *e* in Castilian, *Fonet. Kast.*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> See Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, p. 30.

In the slow and careful pronunciation of most New Mexicans, *e* in open syllables has a tendency to become open, even when atonic.<sup>1</sup> Examples: LO VE > [lɔ vɛ] or [lɔ vɛ̃], DELE > [dɛlɛ] or [dɛlɛ̃]. Cf. also [ɔ] and [ɔ̃].

4. [œ] This is an open and somewhat rounded *e*, which has a resemblance to the *œ* of French *bœuf* the lip rounding not being so prominent. This is found in N. M. S., in the group *ue*. Examples: MUERTO > [mœɾto], TUERTO > [tuɛɾto], BUENO > [bœno]. While there is a pronounced difference between New Mexican Spanish [ɛ] and [œ], the difference is not so great as between the French open *e* of *fer* and the *œ* of *bœuf*.<sup>2</sup>

5. [œ̃] The same as the above but nasalized.

6. [ɛ̃] This sound is an obscure *e*, approaching the *e* in French *le* and is frequently found in unemphatic syllables, particularly when pretonic. Examples: CARNICERÍA > [karnisɛɾiã], YA SE LO DÍ > [ja sɛ lɔ dī], DE VERAS > [dɛ vɛɾas].

7. When unmediately before *a*, *o*, or *u*, N. M. S. *e* becomes semi-consonantal [j], see §§ 16, 19, 83.

§ 16. The vowel *i* has in New Mexican Spanish five values, two oral and two nasal sounds, and a semi-consonantal sound.

1. [i] This is like the French *i* in *lire*, but not quite so close. It is practically the normal Castilian close *i*.<sup>3</sup> This sound is found in New Mexican Spanish when the vowel is tonic. Examples: ES MÍO > [ɛs mio], DIGO > [digo].

2. [ĩ] The same as the preceding but nasalized.

3. [ī] This is a short *i*, approaching the sound of *i* in the English *him*. It is the normal New Mexican Spanish value of atonic *i*. Examples: TIRÓ > [tiro], SI LO VES > [si lɔ vɛs]. Final tonic *i* is medium closed: VENDÍ > [vëndi] or [vëndī]. If in an emphatic position it is close otherwise open.

4. [ī̃] The same as the above but nasalized.

5. [j] When standing immediately before a vowel, *i* in New Mexican Spanish, becomes semi-consonantal, as *y* in English *you*. Examples: VIAJE > [viaxɛ̃], VIÓ > [vió̃], etc. See *u* > [ū] and *y* > [j], §§ 18, 19.<sup>4</sup> See also §§ 84, 109. For the change of *e* into [j] and [j̄]

<sup>1</sup> Also true in Castilian, according to Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> In Southern Colorado there is no rounded *e*, and no close *e*, see § 17, (2).

<sup>3</sup> Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> The changes of *i*, *y* > [j] and *u* > [ū], are the same as in Castilian, as described by Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, pp. 17-18.

and of *o* to [ɔ̃] and [ũ], see Vowels in Hiatus, division IV, §§ 83, 84 of this chapter.

§ 17. The vowel *o* has six values, four oral and two nasal sounds.

1. [ɔ] This is an open *o*, not so pronouncedly open as *o* in English *organ*. This is the normal New Mexican Spanish *o*, and occurs in all closed syllables and final tonic syllables (cf. *a* and *e*). Examples: ORDEN > [ɔrdɛn], COMIÓ > [komiɔ]. In the careful speech of most New Mexicans, *o* has a tendency to become open also in open syllables (cf. also *e*).<sup>1</sup>

2. [ɔ̃] The same as the preceding, but nasalized.

3. [ɔ̄] New Mexican Spanish closed *o* is not so closed as the French *o* in *côte*. This sound occurs in open syllables, except when tonic and final in a word (see [ɔ̄]). Examples: MODO > [mɔ̄dɔ̄], LO VÍ > [lɔ̄ ví], but in Colorado, always, [mɔ̄dɔ̄], etc.

4. [u] (see also *u*.) This is a short variety of the Spanish *u*. The lips are not rounded so much as in the standard Spanish *o* or *u*, but remain as when the *u* of English *but* is uttered. This sound is sometimes given to New Mexican Spanish *o*, when atonic and in unemphatic syllables, particularly in the posttonic endings, *-amos*, *-anos*, *-alos*, *-asos*. Examples: TODAVÍA > [tɔ̄ðaviá], COMPRAMOS > [kɔ̄mːpramus], MÉTALOS > [metáɫus], etc. It may also represent atonic *u* see § 18, (3).

5. [ũ] The same as the above, but nasalized.

6. [ɔ̄] *O* has the sound of English *w*, or semi-consonantal [ɔ̄], when before *a*, *e*, *i*. See (Juxtaposition, Division IV) §§ 84, 103 and also the following section.

§ 18. The vowel *u* has in New Mexican Spanish five values, two oral, two nasal sounds, and one semi-consonantal sound.

1. [u] This sound is almost like the French *ou* in *nous*, but not quite so closed. This sound is found in New Mexican Spanish, a general rule, when *u* is tonic. Examples: UNO > [unɔ̄], LUNES > [lunɛs], DUBO > [dubɔ̄].

2. [ũ] The same as the above, but nasalized.

3. [ū] The same as the short *o* > [ū], see *o*. This sound is given to New Mexican Spanish *u* when atonic or in any unemphatic position in rapid speech. Examples: UNIÓN > [un̄iɔ̄n], UNIDOS > [un̄idɔ̄s], etc.

<sup>1</sup> In Southern Colorado (San Luis Valley), Taos and El Rito, final tonic and atonic *o*, *e* are always open. See § 265, (3).

4. [ū] The same as the preceding, but nasalized.
5. [u] When immediately before the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, and though rarely before *o*, the *u* becomes semi-consonantal as English *w*. Examples: FUE > [fuẽ], TU HIJO > [tũxio], etc. See § 103.

§ 19. *Y* has in New Mexican Spanish three values, two oral sounds and a semi-consonantal sound.

1. [i] When neither preceded or followed by a vowel *y*, has usually the value of Spanish close *i*. Examples: ÉL Y PEDRO > [el i Peðro], Y TU > [i tu].

2. [i] When final after vowels *y* has in New Mexican Spanish the value of short N. N. S. [i], but less distinct. Examples: MUY > [mui], REY > [rẽi]. Sometimes final *y* acquires an indistinct consonantal element, but not so pronounced as to be taken into consideration.

3. [j] When immediately before a vowel, *y* is semi-consonantal. Examples: YO Y ÉL > [jõ jél], Y ELLA > [jẽa]. See §§ 15, 16, 83.

## II. Nasal vowels.

§ 20. In the Spanish of Northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado, nasality is widespread.<sup>1</sup> The influence of the consonants *m* and *n* has brought about a large number of nasal vowels in almost all positions, as we shall soon see. The general rules governing nasal sounds and the fall of the consonants *m* and *n* are the following:

- a) when followed by the explosives *b*, *p* and *v* (here *b*, explosive) *n* causes a nasalization of a preceding vowel, and may remain as an indistinct *m*. Examples: INVIERNO > [ĩmbjerno], EN PAZ > [ẽmpas], EN BURRO > [ẽmburo];
- b) when followed by the explosives *b*, *p*, *m* nasalizes a preceding vowel and may remain very indistinct. Examples: EMPEZAR > [ẽmpesar], EMBUDO > [ẽmbudo].
- c) Before *d*, *l*, *r*, *s*, the *n* may remain as an indistinct *n*, but it always disappears in rapid speech.
- d) Before guttural and palatal consonants *n* may remain as a velar nasal consonant, similar to, though weaker than, the English *n* in bank.
- e) Nasality occurs as a rule only when the *m* or *n* are obstructed by following consonants.
- f) Final *n* may or may not denote nasality. Examples: EL PAN > [el̃pan], but PAN BUENO > [pãmbueno] or [pãngueno].
- h) Nasality is as a rule regressive: CONTIGO > [kõntigõ], but it may also be progressive: NADA > [nãã].

<sup>1</sup> The New Mexican nasality is less sonorous than the French, probably like the Portuguese, cf. Vianna, *Exposição*, p. 53.

These are the general rules governing nasality in New Mexican Spanish. As will be seen at the end of this section it may occur also in other cases not covered by these rules. For the sake of convenience, the indistinct *m* and *n* which may sometimes remain, will not always be indicated in our phonetic transcriptions since frequently they are altogether silent. The velar nasal consonant which may remain before gutturals and palatals, is also not always indicated, because, while it is distinctly heard in some cases, just as the indistinct *n* or *m* indicated above, it is the exception rather than the rule.

§ 21. In Old Spanish the choice between *m* and *n* before labials was not well determined. From earliest times there has been great confusion, the old texts showing both *m* and *n*, before the labial consonants. Some Old Spanish texts show a decided tendency for the consonant *n* before labials, but in general, the question cannot be settled with any degree of exactness, for the Old Spanish period or even for the preclassic period. The enumeration of all the forms found either with *m* or *n* in the works we have studied, would be a tedious task, and not at all necessary, but it may be well to state the preferences, if any, in some works of the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth centuries.

I. Works of the XIIIth century:

- a) *Fuero Juzgo*. A decided preference for *m*.
- b) *El Poema del Cid*. The *m* and *n* are both found before labials. There is no decided tendency to favor either one or the other, except, perhaps, in the word *campeador*, which has *m* about fifty times and *n* about twenty-five times.<sup>1</sup>
- c) Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*. A preference for *n*, though *m* is also found.
- d) *El Poema de Fernán González*. A decided preference for *n*.
- e) *Primera Crónica General* of Alfonso el sabio. A slight preference for *m*, *n* being also frequent.<sup>2</sup>
- f) *El Libro de Alixandre*. A decided preference for *n*.

II. Works of the XIVth century:

- a) Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen Amor*. A decided preference for *n*.
- b) Juan Manuel, *El libro de Patronio et del Conde Lucanor*. A preference for *n*, though *m* is not rare.
- c) López de Ayala, *Rimado de Palacio* (Janer). A slight preference for *n*, *m* being also common.

III. Works of the XVth century:

- a) Martínez de Toledo, *Corvacho ó Reprobación del amor mundano*. No decided preference for either *m* or *n*.

<sup>1</sup> Araujo, *Gramática del Poema del Cid*, p. 58, believes that the *m* is more frequent throughout. My study of the *Poema* does not convince me of the certainty of this statement.

<sup>2</sup> My observation is based on a careful examination of the first 200 pages of the excellent edition of Menéndez Pidal.

b) *Cancionero inédito* of A. Pérez Gomez Nieva. A slight preference for *n*, *m* being also frequent.

c) *Nebrissensis Lexicon*. A preference for *m*.

d) Lucas Fernández, *Farsas y Églogas*. A preference for *m*. *N* occurs also a few times.

e) *Calisto e Melibea*. A preference for *m*, but *n* is also frequent.

§ 22. We have seen then great confusion in the choice of *m* or *n* before the labials in Old Spanish. In the earliest monuments, i. e. in works of the XIIIth century, some important literary works, such as Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* and *El Poema de Fernán González*, show a decided preference for *n*, while the *Primera Crónica General* shows a slight preference for *m*, and probably also, the *Cid*. In the important literary works of the XIV century, we have seen a decided tendency for the *n*. In the XVth century there is again the greatest confusion with a preference, sometimes weak, sometimes pronounced, for *m*. By the middle of the XVIth century, the preference for *m* was well determined, at least in literature, not only before the pure labials *b*, *p*, but also in many instances before the labio-dental? especially *v* (old *u*), this being also frequently represented by *b* from the earliest times, e. g. *embidia*, *imbierno*, *embiar*, *combusco*,<sup>1</sup> etc.

The conclusions which one may form from these observations are the following:

1. In Old Spanish, *m* was very often a weak consonant before labials and was probably silent in vulgar speech, leaving its preceding vowel slightly nasal.

2. The *m* which appears before labials in literature is due to learned influences, which endeavored to follow closely the Latin orthography.<sup>2</sup>

3. The vulgar Spanish of most of the provinces continued with the indistinct *m* and slightly nasal vowels before labials.

4. Nasality in New Mexican Spanish is not an independent development, nor due entirely to the influence of Galician or Portuguese, even though there is proof of their influence in its sources, but is a continuation of a development which began early in Old Spanish and was already well under way in Andalusia and the other Spanish provinces from which New Mexican colonization started by the end of the XVth century.

What are our proofs in support of these conclusions? In the XIIIth century, why did the same writer write *tienpo* and *tiempo*, *siempre* and *siempre*, *ambos* and *ambos*, *combusco* and *convusco* (or *convusco*)? The only reasonable answer is that there was no fixed orthography to transcribe what was actually pronounced. The poet or scribe heard an indistinct *m* and a nasal vowel before it, or a vowel which had a slight resemblance to a vowel followed by nasal *n*, hence the double forms. In the XIVth century the question is more interesting. Did the poet or scribe write *n* because he no longer heard *m*, but merely a nasal vowel which he thought would require an *n* to represent? This is very probable.

A Latinist like Berceo would know that in Latin the words were *tempus*, *semper*, etc., but no distinct *m* being heard, he probably followed the others in

<sup>1</sup> I have found *convusco*, as late as Lucas Fernández, *Farsas y Églogas*, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Even to-day it has become necessary for the Academy to state that before *b*, *p*, *m* must be written and not *n*, since the vulgar folk apparently write *n* (in imitation of the weak nasal?) cf. *Gramática de la Academia*, p. 361.



transcribing a nasal vowel by adding the nasal consonant *n*. As to the *n* being pronounced, this I cannot admit. The *n* was not there to represent an *n*, either dental or alveolar, but a nasal vowel, with probably an indistinct consonant *m* after it.<sup>1</sup>

In modern Castilian, *n* before *b*, *v*, *p* becomes *m*, according to Araujo (*Fonet. Kast.*, p. 43). In New Mexican Spanish the result is precisely the same, with the further development that the *m* may be almost or entirely imperceptible, and the preceding vowel slightly nasal. My observations in New Mexico, however, are in harmony with the statement of Menéndez Pidal, who says in no uncertain language, that since the earliest times the consonant before labials has been simply a sign of nasality and is to-day the same in modern Castilian: „*Debe notarse, prescindiendo de la ortografía hoy corriente, que la nasal ante labial no es m, sino una simple nasalización de la vocal, cābiar, que no llega a la oclusión de una consonante, iniciándose solo la tendencia á producirla con una aproximación palatal*“, etc.<sup>2</sup> Generally speaking, there seems to be as much confusion with the grammarians, as with the poets and scribes, even up to the end of the XVIIth century. In the beginning of the XVIth century (1533) Doctor Busto says that *m* and not *n* should be written before *b*, *p*, and that only the vulgar folk confuse it with the *n*.<sup>3</sup> Juan de Valdés, however, about the same time (1535) insists that he only pronounces *n*.<sup>4</sup> Gonzalo Correas in the XVIIth century (1626) also insists on the preference for *n*.<sup>5</sup>

#### Detailed treatment of the nasal vowels.<sup>6</sup>

§ 23. [ã] < 1. *a* before *m* or *n* + one or more consonants + a vowel, wherever it occurs: CUANTO > [kuã:tõ], CAMPO > [kãmpõ], SAN BLAS > [Sãmbblas], HAN DADO > [ã:daðõ], HAN VISTO > [ãmbistõ]. Compare the French AM, AN + CONS. > *ãm*, *ãn* > *ã*, Bourciez, § 34, Nyrop, *G. H.*, I, § 210.

2. *e* before *n* + one or more consonants + a vowel, in a few words and word groups: ENTONCES > [ã:tõ:sɛs], EN CASA DE > [ã:kasɛ] or [ã:ká(e)], EN ANCAS > [ãã:kas], LENGUETEAR > [lã:guɛtjar], CALENDARIO > [kalã:darjõ], ENRIQUE [ã:ríkɛs] > ANRIQUES.<sup>7</sup>

Compare French EN, EM + CONS. > *ẽn*, *ẽm* > *ãn*, *ãm* > *ã*, cf. Bourciez, § 52, and Nyrop, *G. H.*, I, §§ 214, 215.

<sup>1</sup> Schuchardt (*Vocalismus*, I, 110-112) also believes that since Latin times, *m*, *n* were indistinct before labials, and that the preceding vowels were nasal. See also Grandgent, *V. L.*, §§ 304-306.

<sup>2</sup> *Gram. Hist.*, § 47.

<sup>3</sup> See Viñaza, col. 828.

<sup>4</sup> Mayans y Siscar, p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Gonzalo Correas, *Arte grande de la Lengua Castellana*, ed. Viñaza, p. 29-30.

<sup>6</sup> For the sake of convenience the nasal vowels are grouped under the five general types [ã], [ɛ], [ɪ], [ɔ], [ũ].

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Old Spanish *Anrrich*, *Poema del Cid* 3002, 3109, 3135.

Nasal vowels as a general rule tend to become more open in Romance,<sup>1</sup> but Portuguese, South German, etc.<sup>2</sup> have closed nasal vowels, and, as we shall soon see, N. M. S. not only has them, but has developed them from more open vowels (§ 25).

3. *e* or *i* before *m* or *n* + one or more consonants + a vowel, when influenced by the vowel *a* (especially if tonic) of a preceding word: ESTÁ ENFERMO > [estā:fɛrmo], LA EMBARCADA > [lāmbarkaða], TODA ENTERA > [toðā:tera], SERA IMPOSIBLE > [serāmpoʃivlə], ESTÁ INDISPUESTO > [estā:dispuɛsto].<sup>3</sup>

§ 24. [ẽ] < 1. *e* before *m* or *n* + one or more consonants + a vowel: TENGO > [tẽ:go], EN TI > [ẽ:ti], EN VEZ DE > [ẽmbeʒe], TEMBLAR > [tẽmblar].

2. *i* before *m* or *n* + one or more consonants + a vowel, in a large number of common words: IMPOSIBLE > [ẽmpoʃivlə], IMPEDIDO > [ẽmpedido], IMBÉCIL > [ẽmbésil], INTERÉS > [ẽ:teres], INDUCIR > [ẽ:duʃir], PRINCIPAL > [prẽ:sipal], INVITAR > [ẽm:bitar], INDECENTE > [ẽ:deʃẽ:tẽ], INDIRECTA > [ẽ:dirẽta]. Compare French *im*, *in* + cons. > *im*, *in* > *ẽm*, *ẽn* > *ẽ*, cf. Bourciez, § 65, and Nyrop, *G. H.*, I, §§ 212, 213. This change is common in Spain and also to a certain extent in Bogotá, cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 730.<sup>4</sup>

§ 25. [ĩ] < 1. *i* before *m* or *n* + one or more consonants + a vowel: CINCO > [sĩ:kõ], PINTA > [pĩ:ta], IMPERIO > [ĩmpɛrio], INVOCAR > [ĩmbõkar], SIN VIDA > [sĩmbida].

The Portuguese, like New Mexican Spanish, has developed a nasal [ĩ], from many of the original groups *im*, *in*, and no change to [ẽ] has taken place (cf. Vianna, *Exposição*, § 49). It is interesting to note that New Mexican Spanish has practically all the nasal vowels and nasal diphthongs found in Portuguese (cf. Vianna, *Exposição*, §§ 49, 50), and other nasal developments besides.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Germanic the opposite is the rule. In fact every Indo-European *ɛ* before a nasal group > *i* in Germanic, cf. Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik*, § 63. In Latin, also, I.-E. *ɛ* > *ɨ*, before certain nasal combinations, *quinque* < \**quĩnque* < \**PEŋQUE*, etc., see Lindsay, *L. L.*, § 11, and Sommer, *Handbuch*, § 55.

<sup>2</sup> See Passy, *Changements*, §§ 431, 432.

<sup>3</sup> One may also frequently hear [estẽ:fɛrmo], [toðẽntera], [serĩmpoʃivlə], etc.

<sup>4</sup> In Spain this phenomenon is found in Aragón (*Canc. Pop. Turolense*, 226, 627, 855), Andalusia (*Cantes Flamencos*, Machado y Álvarez, 113), Asturias (*Poesias en dialecto Asturiano*, 8, 16, 80), Galicia (Cuveiro Piñol, *Dic. Gallego* 209, 210, 256, 273).

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, §§ 1, 4.

2. *e* before *m* or *n* + one or more consonants + a vowel, in many common words: ENCONTRAR > [ĩ:kõ:trar], CENCERRO > [sĩ:sẽʔo], ENCONARSE > [ĩ:kõnarsẽ], MENTIR > [mĩ:tir], RENCOR > [rĩ:kõr], EMPLEAR > [ĩmpljar], ENFRIAR > [ĩ:frjar], CEMENTERIO > [semĩ:terjõ], ENVIAR > [ĩmbjar], ENFUNDIA > [ĩ:fũndjã], ENGREÍDO > [ĩ:grĩdõ].

As we have said, this change from an open to a more closed vowel under nasal influence is the reverse of the regular law in Romance (see § 23, 2). In the New Mexican Spanish changes, however, it is very probable that other influences have helped to bring about this development. *Rincor*, *imbiar*, *incontrar*, *infundia*, *imbidia*, *cementerio* are not infrequent in Old Spanish and are also found to-day in the popular speech of many Spanish regions (cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §§ 786, 821).<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon is also found in Florentine Italian and in Portuguese, especially before gutturals and palatals.<sup>2</sup>

§ 26. [õ] < 1. *o* before *m* or *n* + one or more silent consonants + a vowel: DONDE > [õ:dẽ], CONTIGO > [kõ:tĩgõ], CON VIDA > [kõmbidã], SON BESOS > [sõmbesõs].

2. *e* or *i* before *m* or *n* + one or more consonants assimilated by final *a* of a preceding word (see also § 23, 3): NO ENTIENDO > [nõ:tjẽ:dõ], NO EMPIEZA > [nõmpjẽsã], NO IMPIDE > [nõmpidẽ], LO IMPOSIBLE > [lõmpõsivlẽ], VIÓ EN LA TIENDA > [vjõ:latjẽdã].<sup>3</sup> This change is not necessarily due to the nasal influence (see §§ 84, 91).

§ 27. [ũ] < *u* before *m* or *n* + one or more consonants + a vowel: NUNCA > [nũ:kã], MUNDO > [mũ:dõ], LUMBRE > [lũbrẽ], UN BURRO > [ũburõ], UN VASO > [ũbasõ], UN GALLO > [ũ:galõ].

<sup>1</sup> *Ingunte* for *unguento*, discussed by Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 946, is also the common form in New Mexico.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer-Lübke I, § 95. As to the cases cited by Meyer-Lübke for Florentine Italian and Portuguese, I would add that some of the words cited show the change in question also in Spanish, e. g., *ingle*, *ingir*, *cincha*, *cincho*. In all these cases the Romance *e* represents Latin *ɨ*. The same is also true of the New Mexican Spanish forms *impliar*, *ingrirse*, *imbiar*, though here the *ɨ* > Romance *e* is atonic. The tendency seems to be that Latin *ɨ* (> Romance *e*) > *i*, before labials, palatals, velars. In Asturias this phenomenon is also frequent: *mintir*, *siñor*, *bindito*, *temporal* (cf. Munthe, *Anteckningar*, p. 20). *Siñor* (also in New Mexico) represents Latin *ɨ* (see § 45). The extreme development is N. M. S. *rincor* < Spanish *rencor* < Old Sp. *rancor*, < Latin RANCŌRE. Compare, *anfeno*, (Torres Naharro, I, 250, 289, 293) < *enfinito* (Corvacho, 36), < INFINITO, the opposite development, but a regular one in Romance. I doubt if *rincor* (< *rencor* < *rancor*), is to be explained by the influence of the initial *r*, which is the opinion of M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 17, and of Northup, *El Libro de los Gatos*, p. 29, n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> One may also frequently hear [nũ:tjẽdõ], [lũ:mpõsivlẽ], etc.

Short nasal [ũ] may come either from *o* or *u*: HUNDIRSE > [ũ:dirse], UN SOFÁ > [ũ:sɔfá], TONTERIA > [tũ:tería] or [tõ:tería], HOMBRECITO > [ũmbrɛsito] or [õ:mbrɛsito]. See also §§ 17, 18.

§ 28. In the rapid speech of New Mexicans, intervocalic *m*, *n*, *ñ*, often disappear, leaving the preceding or ensuing vowel nasal, usually the tonic vowel, or in some cases both. This development is more frequent when both vowels are the same, but it is not infrequent even with different vowels:

1. with like vowels: TIENE > [tiẽẽ],<sup>1</sup> COMO > [kõõ], LANA > [lãã], VIENE > [viẽẽ], MENESTER > [mẽẽstɛr], MINISTRO > [mĩĩstrɔ].

2. with unlike vowels: HERMANO > [ɛrmãõ] or [ɛrmãũ],<sup>2</sup> PONE > [põẽ], MANO > [mãõ], SINO, FINO > [síõ], [fíõ], COMPRAMOS > [kõmpɾãõs], EL AÑO PASADO > [lãõpasãõ], PROMETE > [pɾõẽtɛ], SANO > [sãõ] or [sãũ].

The complete fall of intervocalic *m*, *n*, leaving no nasal influences is extremely rare in New Mexican Spanish.<sup>3</sup>

§ 29. Other more interesting developments are found.

1. After the intervocalic *m*, *n* or *ñ* has disappeared leaving a preceding tonic vowel nasal, the final posttonic vowel may fall leaving the nasal vowel final.<sup>4</sup>

AÑO > [ãõ] > [ã̃], HERMANO > [ɛrmãõ] > [ɛrmã̃],<sup>5</sup> TIENE > [tiẽẽ] > [tiẽ̃].

When the vowels are identical the change is, of course more frequent:

<sup>1</sup> Let it be clearly understood, here and hereafter, that in all our examples we choose the most common popular sounds and forms, but other forms may also be found. *Tiene* is in New Mexican Spanish pronounced [tiẽẽ], [tiẽẽ̃], or [tiẽ̃]. See also § 209.

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly necessary to point out here a possible Galician or direct Portuguese influence: *Hermão*, *mão*, *põe*, etc. are genuine Portuguese words. Granted a few such words, others were easily influenced. Whether this is a New Mexican Spanish development, or is due to an older Galician or Portuguese influence, is a difficult matter to settle. See also, § 22, 4.

<sup>3</sup> In Portuguese intervocalic *n* has in many cases disappeared, leaving no nasality. Cf. Cornu, in Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 965; Menéndez Pidal also mentions it as a peculiarity of the dialect of Western Leonese, *El Dialecto Leonés*, p. 3, n. 2. In some positions intervocalic *n* may fall also in Andalusia, leaving no nasality, cf. Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, p. 319. For the phenomenon in Asturias, cf. *Poesías en Dialecto Asturiano*, 33, 40, 55, 57.

<sup>4</sup> Only in this way is it possible to have a final nasal vowel, see § 20, b.

<sup>5</sup> In the San Luis Valley, Southern Colorado, the *o* also frequently remains: [ɛrmõ̃], [mõ̃] < HERMANO, MANO, etc.

LANA > [lãa] > [lã], NANA > [nãa] > [nã], MONO > [mõo] > [mõ],  
MAMÁ > [mãá] > [mã].

2. After the intervocalic *m*, *n* or *ñ* has disappeared, leaving the tonic or tonic + posttonic vowels nasal, the tonic vowel may fall, leaving the final vowel nasal. This is especially frequent when the last is a more open vowel, and in particular *a* or *o*:

BUENO > [guẽo] > [guõ], ABREMOS > [avřẽos] > [avřõs],<sup>1</sup> VAMOS  
> [amõs] > [ãõs] > [õs], NO MAS UNO > [nõasunõ] > nã:sunõ, BUENAS  
> [guẽnas] > [guẽnas] > [guãnas], PODEMOS > [põde:õs] > [põđõs]  
> [põõs].

In Andalusia intervocalic *n* may disappear, leaving a nasal sound or not, cf. Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, p. 319.

§ 30. Initial *m* and *n* may sometimes disappear, leaving the ensuing vowel nasal:<sup>2</sup>

MI PAPA > [ĩmpapa] or [ẽmpapa], NO VAS AHORA > [õ:vaõora],  
Y MUY LINDO > [ĩũĩlĩndõ], DE NOSOTROS > [õxõtřõs], MÁS QUE TÚ  
> [ãsketũ].

In all the cases, of course, the initial *m* or *n* may also remain with the nasal vowel following:

NO HAY > [nõaj] or [nũaj], SI ME DAS > [simẽas], NOSOTROS  
> [nõxõtřõs].

§ 31. When initial *m* and *n* are followed by a vowel + an *m*, *n* or *ñ*, the nasal influences may be both progressive and regressive and the nasality is very marked:

MENTIRA > [mẽ:tira] or [ẽ:tira] or [mĩ:tira], NUNCA > [nũ:ka]  
or [ũ:ka], MI MAMÁ > [ĩamá] or [miãmá], NINGUN HOMBRE > [ĩguõmbřẽ]  
or [nĩguõ:brẽ], NO NOS DA > [nõõsda].

§ 32. In many common words and in rapid speech, *m* and *n* do not only disappear leaving the tonic vowel nasal, but a consonant forming a group with it, especially in the groups *nd*, *ng*, may also disappear, and this may also be followed by the further development of the fall of the posttonic final vowel. See also § 29, 1.

Examples: TENGO > [tẽ:go] or [tẽõ],<sup>3</sup> DONDE > [õde] > [õẽ] > [õ],

<sup>1</sup> Compare the French *ouvrons* > [uvřõ(s)].

<sup>2</sup> Progressive nasality is found in Portuguese, in the Eastern French dialects, and at the Hague, especially with *i* and *u*. Cf. Meyer-Lübke I, §§ 40, 64.

<sup>3</sup> The great difficulty of finding the exact sources of New Mexican Spanish is a vexing question. It is not impossible for Spanish *tengo* to develop to [tẽõ] but it is tempting to jump to the conclusion that [tẽõ] < Portuguese *tenho*, a phenomenon well determined, see § 28, n. 2.

CUANDO > [kũãðo] > [kũã(ø)], ENTONCES > [ãtõ:ses] > [ã:tõs],<sup>1</sup> SANGRE GORDA > [sã:grẽgõrdã], LO PONGO ALLI > [lõpõ:goái], [lõ põ:uái].

§ 33. **Nasal diphthongs.** In Spanish there are six diphthongs and no more.<sup>2</sup> In New Mexican Spanish there are the same number of oral diphthongs as in Castilian, and there are (in addition?) the same number of nasal diphthongs. The development of the nasal diphthongs is, generally speaking, subject to the same rules as the development of nasal vowels, resulting as a rule from an oral diphthong + *m* or *n* + one or more consonants. The N. M. nasal diphthongs are: [ãi], [ãu], [ëi], [ëu], [õi], [õu].

a) [ãi] < AIN, AEN<sup>3</sup> + one or more consonants: TRAEN COSAS > [trãi:kõsas], CAEN RECIO > [kãi:rẽsio].

b) [ãu] < AUN + one or more consonants: AUNQUE > [ãũkẽ] also [ã:kẽ], LA UNTÓ > [lãutõ].<sup>4</sup>

c) [ëi] < EIN + one or more consonants: VEINTE > [vẽi:tẽ], LE IMPORTA > [lẽi'mpõrtã].<sup>5</sup>

d) [ëu] < EUN + one or more consonants: LE UNTÓ > [lẽũ:tõ] also [lũũ:tõ], DE UN LADO > [dẽũ:laũ] also [dũũ:laũ].

e) [õi] < OIN + one or more consonants: LO INTENTA > [lõi:tẽtã] also [lũi:tẽ:tã], NO INDAGA > [nõi:daga] also [nũi:daga].

f) [õu] < OUN + one or more consonants: CON UN HUESO > [cõũ:guẽso],<sup>6</sup> LO UNTÓ > [lõũ:tõ].<sup>7</sup>

Intervocalic *m*, *n* may disappear and leave diphthongs in the same way as nasal vowels:

DAME UNO > [dãiũno], HERMANO > [ẽrmãũ] or [ẽrmãõ], DE MI PADRE > [dẽiãpadrẽ], LO PONES > [lõpõẽs] or [lõpõis], AMIGUITO > [ãiãgito] or [ãiãgito],<sup>8</sup> MANO > [mãõ] > [mãũ], FRENO > [frẽõ] or [frẽũ].<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Asturian is found the form *entós*, (probably pronounced also [ã:tõs], see Munthe, *Anteckningar*, p. 21) cf. *Poestas en dialecto Asturiano*, *entós* 31, 33, 40.

<sup>2</sup> See Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> For AE > ai, see § 62.

<sup>4</sup> Also [lũ:tõ], see Juxtaposition, §§ 87, 88.

<sup>5</sup> Also [lẽi'mpõrtã].

<sup>6</sup> For the shifting of the accent to the *o*, see Sec. 9, a.

<sup>7</sup> Also [lũ:tõ], see Juxtaposition, § 90.

<sup>8</sup> For the shifting of the accent to the *a*, see § 9, a.

<sup>9</sup> More frequent when unemphatic and not final. Final *éo* does not, as a rule, change to *eu* in New Mexican Spanish, as it does in Asturian (see Munthe, *Anteckningar*, p. 31) but remains *eo* with hiatus, DEDO > *deo*, TENGO > *tẽo*, etc. See also §§ 65, 76.

## § 34. Unclassified nasal developments.

1. With influence of nasal consonants: MI > [ɪm], [ẽm] (before labials) MI PAPA > [ẽpapá] etc., otherwise [mɪ]; NO > [nõ], [nã], [õ]; DESDE = [dẽdẽ], [ẽ:dẽ] etc.; MUCHO > *muncho*, [mũeo]; NUPCIAS > *nuncias* [nũsɿas]; AUNQUE > *anque* [ãkẽ], *onque* [õ:kẽ], *enque* [ẽ:kẽ]. *Muncho* is a popular form in all Spanish countries and frequent in Old Spanish.<sup>1</sup> *Anque* is very frequent in Old Spanish and *onque*, *on*, < AUN *an* < AUN are also found. (See Pietsch, *Notes on Spanish Folk-lore*, p. 4). *An*, *on* are explained by progressive assimilation in the first and regressive in the second, *áun* > *don* > *an*, *áin* > *aón* > *on*, and the same development explains *anque*, *onque*. *Enque* may be due to weakening of *a* of the initial syllable used as a proclitic.<sup>2</sup> *Dende* < DĒ ĨNDE used for *desde* is a form preserved from Old Spanish. Both *ende* and *dende* were used but not always as equivalents of *desde*. By the XVIth century, however, *dende* was used as a synonym of *desde*, and it had lost its other meanings. *Ende* may not be a development of *dende* but ĨNDE > *ende* also frequent in Old Spanish, and it may also have lost all its other meanings in popular speech and came to be used only in the sense of *desde*, since early times. For a partial study of the semasiological question involved, see Meyer-Lübke III, § 64.<sup>3</sup> The comparison of the New Mexican form *nunsia* [nũsɿã] with the Roumanian *nuntă* and Sardinian *nunta* is very interesting. Does it add a little more weight to Meyer-Lübke's idea of a source NUMPTIA<sup>4</sup> in Vulgar Latin?

<sup>1</sup> See Meyer-Lübke I, § 587, J. Subak, in *Zeitschrift* XXX, 173, Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 68, Baist, *Grundriss* I, 906, Schuchardt, *Zs.* V, 311.

<sup>2</sup> Instances of *anque*, *an*, etc. in Old Spanish Literature are: Juan del Encina, *onque* 236, 246 (see Pietsch, ut supra); Sanchez de Badajoz, *anque* 131, 157, *aon* 323; Torres Naharro I, *aón* 253, 367, 428, *an* 136, 252, 256, 273, *anque* 137, 184, 251, 282; Santa Teresa, *anque* 8, 18, 31, 50, *an* 3, 6, 12, 23, 38. In modern Spanish *anque* is found in Andalusia (*Cantes Flamencos*, Machado y Álvarez, 39); Asturias (*Poesías en Dialecto Asturiano*), 10, 13, 20, 36, 62); Galicia (C. Piñol, 23); Chile (Echeverría y Reyes, 126); Mexico (*Musa Callejera*, 137).

<sup>3</sup> *Dende* = *desde* is also used in Mexico (Prieto, *Musa Callejera*, 40, 197); Bogotá (Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 435); Santander (Mugica, *Dial. Cast.*, 17); Aragón (*Cantas Baturras*, 23); Asturias (Rato y Hevia, 43); Galicia (Piñol, 94); Chile (Echeverría y Reyes, 126); Andalusia (*Cantes Flamencos*, Machado y Álvarez, 75); Argentina (Maspero, IX). Examples of *dende* (= *desde*) in Old Spanish are, Fray Luis de León, 29, 172; Fr. Luis de Granada, 29, 46, 48, 53; Villagrà, 7; Rouanet, IV, 7, 22; (in Nebrija only *dende* is found).

<sup>4</sup> Meyer-Lübke I, § 587. *Nuncias* also occurs in Galicia (Cuveiro Piñol, 222). The New Mexican Spanish form *nunsias* [nũ:sɿas], however, can be derived directly from the Spanish *nupcias*. NUPCIAS > \*numpcias > \*numsias > *nunsias*. See also, G. Paris, in *Romania*, X, 397-398.

2. Without direct nasal influence: QUE > *quē*, [kē]; EH > [e], [ē], [ē]; SI > *si*, [sē], *sei*, [sēi], [sē],<sup>1</sup> *je*, *jēi*, *ji*; AH > *a*, *ā*, *ā*; TROPEZAR > *trompezar* [trō:pēsar]; ATROPELLAR > *atrompiar* [atrō:piar]; ZABULLIR > *sambuir* [sā:buir]; ASI > *asina*, *ansina* [ā:sina], *ansí*, *ajina* [axina], *aji*.<sup>2</sup> *Trompezón*, *trompezar*, *sambuir* are found in Nebrija and classic Spanish (cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 946).<sup>3</sup> *Asina* = *así* is the more frequent form in New Mexico, and is probably of Galician source. (Marden, *The Span. Dial. Mex. City*, p. 14). The other forms mentioned are not infrequent. The New Mexican and Galician form *asina* is a development of *ansina*. Lat. AD + SIC > *así* > *āsí* > *ansi* > *ansina*<sup>4</sup> > *āsina* > *asina*. *Asín*, which is also found in Old Spanish is another development of *así*. *así* > *āsí* > *ansi* > *ansín* > *āsín* > *asín*.

### III. Vowel changes.

#### A. Simple vowels.

##### a) Tonic vowels.

§ 35. *a*. The result of the group tonic *a* + vocalized consonant, is treated under Vocalization of Consonants, §§ 170-172. Tonic *a* has practically remained unchanged in New Mexican Spanish, since the XVIth century. The words *cuasi*, *truje*, are good old classic Spanish forms.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sin* < SIC (= *si*) occurs in the Dialecto Berciano (Pietsch).

<sup>2</sup> In Old and in classic Spanish all these forms with the exception of the last two, are used, but *ansi* is the most common: Juan Ruiz, *ansi* 5, 8, 15, 36, 73, 137; Juan Manuel, *Lucanor*, *ansi* 131, 134, 205; Corvacho, *ansy* 14, 195; Lucas Fernández, *ansi* 19, 30, 43, 56, 114; Juan del Encina, *ansi* 237, 238, 239; Sanchez de Badajoz, *ansi* 8, 26, 80, 376, *ansina* 109, 140; Torres Naharro, *ansi* 28, 66, 74, 104, 300, 416; Lope de Rueda, *ansi* 10, 26, 40, *ansina* 61; Rouanet, IV, *ansi* 12, 18, 34, 74, *ansina* 8, 12; Fr. Luis de León, *ansi* 11, 12, 21, 36, 137, 158, *ansina* 177; Santa Teresa, *ansi* 1, 2, 13, 31, 50; Juan de Mena, *ansi* 98, 104, 109, 155; Lazarillo, *ansi* 6, 34; Don Quixote, I, *ansi* 3, 12, 25, 33, 38, 43. In the modern dialects, *asina* as, in New Mexican Spanish is the more common, cf. Piñol, 29; Cuervo, *Ap.*, § 710; Mugica, 24. *Ansina* is Asturian (Rato y Hévia, 12).

<sup>3</sup> *Trompezar*, *sambuir*, have been noted in the modern dialects for Asturias (Rato y Hévia, 119); Bogotá (Cuervo, ut supra, § 946); Cuba (Estéban Pichardo, 362, 388). For ZABULLIR > *zambullir*, see Carolina Michaelis, *Romania*, II, 88-89.

<sup>4</sup> According to Gonzalo Correas (1626), *Arte Grande de la lengua Castellana*, p. 222, *ansina* was then considered an Andalusian form.

<sup>5</sup> Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, p. 17, points out *truje*, as a popular Old Spanish form, and *cuasi*, a classic form. As a matter of fact *truje* is as classic as *cuasi*. In *Don Quixote* (facsimile edition of 1605-15) the forms *truje*, *e*, etc. are



In some infinitives of the first conjugation, tonic  $\alpha > ia$ , by analogy to verbs ending in *ear* ( $> iar$ ) and *iar*:<sup>1</sup> GALOPAR  $> golopiar$ ,<sup>2</sup> BARAJAR  $> barajiar$ , TROTAR  $> trotiar$ , NUMERAR  $> numeriar$ , SALPICAR  $> salpiquiar$ , BOSTEZAR  $> bosteziar$ , PUÑALAR  $> puñaliar$ . In PARAGUAS  $> pariaquíe$ , there seems to be an influence of the semi-vowel  $\mu$  of the final syllable.

In *estable* (ESTABLO) there is evidently a contamination with the English *stable*. For English tonic  $\alpha > N. M. Sp. e$ , see § 218.

§ 36. *e*. Tonic *e* + vocalized consonant is treated in §§ 173, 174. Tonic *e* has practically remained unchanged since the XVIth century. In *entriego*, *entriega*, etc. from *entegrar*, if this is from  $\text{INTĒGRĀRE}^3 > \text{ĭntrĕgāre}$  ( $> entregar$ ), the development is regular. An isolated case of tonic  $\epsilon > i$ , and then absorbed is, *íntico*<sup>4</sup>  $< *i\text{ntico} < *id\text{ntico} < \text{IDĒNTICO}$ , due to assimilation.

§ 37. *i*. Tonic *i* has remained unchanged. An isolated example is *témido*  $< \text{TÍMIDO}$ , due to regressive dissimilation, and perhaps also by analogy to, *temeroso*, *temor*. In *mesmo* there is not a new form, but a preservation of the prevalent form in classic Spanish. It is also the regular modern Portuguese form, and found to-day in the popular speech of New Mexico; Mexico (Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 13); Guatemala, Argentine (Marden); Aragón (*Canc. Popular Turo-lense*, 430); Asturias, Andalusia (Meyer-Lübke I, § 116); Bogotá (Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 777); Chile (Echeverría y Reyes, 200); Galicia (Cuveiro Piñol, 207).

*Mismo* (the oldest Spanish, and modern literary preference, (see below), does not come from *mesmo*, as Baist (*Grundriss* I, 887 and *Krit. Jahrsb.* I, 534), Cejador (*La Leng. Cerv.* I, 739), Cuervo (*Apuntaciones*, § 777), Ford (*Don Quixote*, 93) and others attempt to

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used almost exclusively. Cf. also Gaspar de Villagrà (1610) 5, 28, 52, 74, 91, 101, 145, and Valdés prefers it to *traje*, etc., Mayans y Siscar, 45.

<sup>1</sup> Very common also in Spain and Colombia, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 286.

<sup>2</sup> The exact phonetic transcriptions are given only when necessary. In the treatment of vowel changes, it would be useless to give the phonetic transcription of all the consonants, a matter, treated in detail in Chapter IV. Furthermore, no division is made in our discussion of the vowel changes as to the exact quality of the Castilian vowel in question, a matter, which would lead us far beyond our subject, and one not too well settled among Spanish Phoneticians.

<sup>3</sup> See Körtling, 5061.

<sup>4</sup> I have found no mention of this in any other dialect, nor have I found any instances of it in dialect literature.

prove. In fact, *mesmo*, is exceedingly rare in Old Spanish and does not prevail until the last half of the XVth century. In the oldest monuments, *mismo* is by far the prevailing form. By the side of *mismo*, we find also in the old language a few instances of *meísmo*, which must have had the accent (in its oldest form) on the *i* (cf. *Sto. Domingo de Silos*, 78, *meísmo* in rhyme with *cristianismo*). The oldest and therefore the etymological forms are *meísmo* > *mismo*. *Meísmo* > *mismo*, just as *reína* > *rina*, *veído* > *vido*, *seído* > *sido*, *\*deiste* > *diste*, *treinta* > *trinta*, etc. For the Old Spanish *meísmo*, *mismo*, Old French *medisme* (Alexis), *meïsme* (Roland, Marie de France, etc.), *misme* (St. Bernard.), we must suppose a Vulgar Latin form *\*METĪPSIMUS* (by the side of *METĪPSIMUS* > Old French *medesme* > *meesme*, etc., and also Old Spanish *\*meesmo* > *mesmo*?). The various explanations given by the standard authorities, for *medisme*, *meïsme*, *meísmo*, *mismo*, are more curious than scientific, though it seems that Gaston Paris (*Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*, § 18), Cornu (*Rom. XIII*, 189) and M. Pidal (*Gram. Hist.*, § 66) have also come to the belief in a long vowel. It is also probable that in the Vulgar Latin of Spain the *t* had become *d*. That *meísmo*, *mismo* are the oldest and the etymological forms in Spanish, is in my opinion, absolutely certain.<sup>1</sup> As to the classic *mesmo* (cf. Lope de Vega, *Arcadia*, 10, 11, 17, 28, 41, 441, etc., *Don Quixote I*, 5, 9, 11, 21, 36, 46, 59, etc.), the origin is problematic. It may come from *\*meesmo* (not found in Old Spanish) < *\*MEDĪPSIMUS* (see above). A more probable explanation, however, is, that it is also derived from *meísmo*. *Meísmo* > *\*meísmo* as *veinte* > *veinte*, *reína* > *reina* (cf. also

<sup>1</sup> *Mismo* is the exclusive form, in: *El Fuero Juzgo* (9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 24, 29, 32, 35, etc., many times more with *meísmo* in some instances as a variant); *El Fuero de Avilés* and *El Fuero de Oviedo* (the one, *meísmo*, 91, 116, the other, *mismo*, 114, 131, ed. F. Guerra); *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos* (ed. Férotin, 168, 178, 180, 183, etc., 26 times more); *El Poema del Cid*; *Primera Crónica General*; *Sta Maria Egipcíaca*; *Alixandre* (*mismo*, 301, 520, etc., 15 times more, with one *mesmo*, 80). *Mismo* is also by far more frequent than *mesmo* in: *Fernan González* (*mismo* 23, 110, 119, etc., six more times, *mesmo* 2 times); *Sto Domingo de Silos* (*mismo*, 12 times, *misme*, 2 times, *meísmo* once, *mesmo*, 2 times); *Memorial Histórico Español I* (*mismo* 5, 64, 77, 81, 116, 118, etc., 20 times more, *mesmo*, 7 times). In Old French: *Alexis*, ed. Paris (*medisme*, 24, 57, 87, 108, 123), Marie de France (ed. Warnke, *meïsme*, 3, 15, 43, 56, 57, 62, 72, 73, 77, etc.); *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Gautier (*meïsme*, 204, 590, 1036, 1644, etc.). In Old Leonese, only *mismo* is found (see Staaff, *Étude Dial. Léon.*, § 53). The complete materials which support the existence of a form *\*METĪPSIMUS* by the side of *\*METĪPSIMUS*, will be published soon in a separate article.

*vaina* > *vaina*, etc., M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 6), then, \**méismo* > *mesmo*. The Old, *mismo* however was not entirely banished during the classic period, and after a precarious existence of some four centuries, it is now again preferred by the literary language, while *mesmo* has been relegated to the dialects.

§ 38. *o*. Tonic *o* has remained practically unchanged since the 16th century. The following changes however, are to be noted

- a) *o* = *e*, SOMOS = *semos*, RŌTULO > *rétulo*.
- b) *o* > *u*, ÓSCULO > *úsculo*, COBRE > *curre*, *curri*, DIVORCIO > *divursio*.
- c) *o* > *io*, JORGE > *Giorge*.

For *semos* (found also in Spain) we may have two explanations. It may represent the Latin *sĭmus*, which was preferred by Augustus and which prevailed in Italy and Southern Gaul,<sup>1</sup> > Old Italian *semo*, *sem*, Provençal *sem*, or, it may be the Old Spanish *seemos* < *sedemos* < Lat. SEDEMUS. Menéndez Pidal is of the opinion that it comes from *sĭmus*.<sup>2</sup> This however, would have given *semos*, outright a form which to my knowledge, is not found in the oldest period of the language. This fact therefore, argues in favor of the source *seemos* < SEDEMUS, which is the prevailing form next to *somos* in Old Spanish. The New Mexican Spanish and Andalusian form *semos* then, I believe is a preservation of the Old Spanish *seemos*.<sup>3</sup> In *rétulo* < RŌTULU, we have a dissimilation before *-tu*, found also in atonic positions, cf. Sp. *redondo* > Lat. RŌTŪNDŪS. *Rétulo* occurs in *Don Quixote* I, IX. See also Baist, *Grundriss* I, 894.

*Úsculo* is due to assimilation to the following *u*. In *divorcio* and *curre*, the change of *o* > *u* is not clear, probably due to dissimilation in the first. In *Giorge*, the *i* may be called by the guttural quality of the initial *j*.

§ 39. *u*. Tonic *u* has remained unchanged. In *mormoyo*, if direct from *mormullo*, the *o* is due to assimilation to initial and final *o*, while the modern Castilian *murmullo* may be assimilation of initial *o* to tonic *u*. For tonic *ue* = *o* or *u*, see Vowel Compounds, §§ 75, 76.

<sup>1</sup> Grandgent, *V. L.*, §§ 220, 412.

<sup>2</sup> M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 116.

<sup>3</sup> Schuchardt (*Die Cantes Flamencos*, p. 321) believes that *semos*, found also in Andalusian, may be the result of analogy to verbs in *-emos*, and this opinion is shared also by Baist, *Grundr.* I, 914.

## b) Atonic vowels.

§ 40. *a* > *e*. 1. When posttonic, by assimilation to initial tonic *i* or *ié*, and also by partial dissimilation to final atonic *a*: CÍTARA > *sítara*,<sup>1</sup> CIÉNAGA > *sienea*.<sup>2</sup>

2. Before tonic or pretonic *u* by progressive assimilation to the more closed vowel: TESTABUDO > *testerudo*, RASURAR > *resurar*, AMBULANCIA > *embolansa*.<sup>3</sup>

3. When final and posttonic after *g*, *gu*: PARAGUAS > *paraquíe*, ARRUGA > *arrugue*.

4. When in the initial syllable before *i*:<sup>4</sup> TRASQUILAR > *tresquilar*, TRASQUILA > *tresquila*, ASPIRAR > *espirar*.

5. After tonic *a* and before final *a* by dissimilation: ÁGATA > *águeda*. There seems to be in New Mexican Spanish a manifest tendency for atonic *a* after *g* to become *e*, see above 3.

§ 41. *a* > *i*. 1. By progressive assimilation before tonic *i*, and also by the influence of a preceding palatal, *ch* or *ñ* (see § 47 and Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 776): AÑADIR > *añidir*.<sup>5</sup>

2. By dissimilation or through influence of English, CARNAVAL > *carnival*.

§ 42. *a* > *o*. 1. When posttonic and final in some words which are used only in the masculine gender in New Mexican Spanish: AVENA > *aveno*, CERCA > *cerco*, VENERA > *venero*, ESCAPATORIA > *escapatorio*, UÑAZA > *uñazo*, MEMBRILLA > *membrío*. There seems to be no other reason for this change, here, than the analogy of masculine nouns in *o*. Compare also PLÁCEME, PÉSAME > *plácemo*, *pésamo*, § 48, 2.

2. Before tonic *u* by progressive assimilation: BADULQUE > *bodoque*.

§ 43. *a* > *u*. 1. Medial and before tonic *a*, by dissimilation and with a probable influence of the preceding palatal *ch* (see § 41, 1): MACHACAR = *machucar*. Körting (5942) gives *mārcūlus* as the source

<sup>1</sup> *citera* < CITHARA, dates from Vulgar Latin, cf. *Recueil D'Anciens Textes Bas-Latins* (Paul Meyer, Paris 1877), p. 1, l. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ciénega* for *cienaga* is found in nearly all Spanish America, cf. Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 19, note.

<sup>3</sup> See also § 25, 2.

<sup>4</sup> In *espirar* there may be a confusion of the prefixes *as*, *es*, as in Old Spanish *asconder*, *ascuchar* > modern Spanish *esconder*, *escuchar*, cf. M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 17, 4. *Tresquilar* was not rare in older Spanish, cf. *Don Quixote*, I, VII. See also Cuervo, *Apunt.*, § 786.

<sup>5</sup> Also Old Spanish, see Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, *Zeitschrift* V, 311.

of both *machacar* and *machucar*, but does not explain the reasons for the different forms. The Academy Dictionary (1890) also gives both. I have never found the form *machucar* in modern Spanish, so I fancy it is purely an Old Spanish form. Cuervo (*Apuntaciones*, § 471) would see a difference in meaning between the two forms, but says that the Bogotans only use *machucar*.

2. After tonic *i* and before *o*: CERNÍCALO > *sarnículo*. For the change ER > ar, see § 45, 2.

Galician has *u* for *a* also, *sarnículo* (Piñol, 283), so that the New Mexican form is probably of Galician source. In Cuba is found, *sarnículo* (Estéban Pichardo, 339), and also in Columbia (Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 778).

§ 44. A > ia. (For tonic A > ia, see § 35.) When after tonic *a* or *i* and final in: CESARA > *Sesaria*, LINA > *Linia* (*Liña*), FARZA > *jarsia*, SEGURANZA > *seguransia*. This phenomenon is rare and limited to Santa Fé, and vicinity to the north. The development of epenthetic *i* before final atonic *a* is found also in Asturias, Santander, Zamora, Salamanca, Cáceres, Badajoz, Miranda.<sup>1</sup>

§ 45. E > a. 1. By influence of the nasal consonant, EN > *ãn*, § 23.

2. Initial ERM, ERN > *arm*, *arn*, by the influence of the *r* + nasals (see § 43): CERNÍCALO > *sarnículo*, ERMITAÑO > *almitaño*.<sup>2</sup>

3. By influence of *r* only: CERTIFICADO > *sartificau*.

4. By progressive assimilation: CATECISMO > *catacismo*.<sup>3</sup>

5. By regressive assimilation: DESPEDAZAR > *despadasar*.

6. When final and posttonic: TROJE > *troja*, ACEMITE > *semita*.

The change here is probably due to analogy with feminine nouns ending in *a*.

§ 46. E > i. 1. By regressive assimilation before tonic *i*: VESTIDO > *vistido*, BENINO > *Binino*, VECINO > *visino*, etc.<sup>4</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> See Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, § 6.

<sup>2</sup> Compare with this the more common Asturian development of ERM > *arm*, *armanu*, *armosu*, *nímaru* (Munthe, *Anteckningar*, 21). For ER > ar, see Meyer-Lübke I, § 361, and Cuervo, *Apunt.* § 778.

<sup>3</sup> Found also in Bogotá (Cuervo, *Apunt.* § 784) and Asturias (Munthe, *Anteckningar*, 22).

<sup>4</sup> It is hardly necessary to say that the changes of atonic *e* > *i*, atonic *i* > *e*, due to assimilation and dissimilation, in Spanish are very common in all the stages of the language. The changes are also found in all the Romance languages and dialects. When atonic, *e* and *i* do not vary so very much, so that the tonic vowel

verbs which have *e* and *i*, there may also be influence of the *i* of the stem in the other forms. For  $i > e$ , see § 49.

2. By assimilation before atonic *i*: HERVIDERO > *jirvidero*, AMERICANO > *Amiricano*, LEGISLADOR > *ligislador*.

3. By progressive assimilation after tonic or atonic *i*: IMPETU > *ímpito*, IMPETOSO > *impitoso*, ANTIGÜEDAD > *antigüidá*.

4. By regressive assimilation before tonic *ió*: LECCIÓN > *lisión*, DECISIÓN > *disisión*, IMPERFECCIÓN > *imperfisión*, SECCIÓN > *sisión*, CONFESIÓN > *confisión*, MENCIÓN > *minsión*, COMPETICION > *compitisión*. The cause here is the extremely closed *i* in *ió*, which influences the preceding *e* and has a tendency to close it, that is, to convert it to an *i*, a well established case of umlaut. Compare Spanish  $e < \text{Lat. } \bar{e}$ , or  $\bar{e}, \bar{i} > i$  before the yod in VITREU > *vidrio*, FENESTRA > *finiestra*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

5. When before nasal + cons.  $e > i$ , see § 25, 2.

6. When before or after *s*, through the influence of *s*, whose place of articulation is closer to *i* than *e*,<sup>2</sup> + the influence of tonic *u*:

a) SEGURO > *siguro*, SEGÚN > *sigún*, ASEGURAR > *asigurar*, SEGUNDO > *sigundo*.<sup>3</sup>

b) With also a probable additional influence of the following nasal or palatal: SEÑAL > *siñal*, SEÑOR > *siñor*,<sup>4</sup> MANEJAR > *manijar*.

c) As a general rule in the prefix *des*, with the additional influence of the analogy to the prefix *dis*: DESCUBRIR > *discubrir*,

or the more accented vowel assimilates a preceding or following *e* or *i*. A few instances will suffice. Some authors show a tendency for  $e > i$ , others to  $i > e$ :

$e > i$ : Juan Manuel, *Lucanor*, 14, 15, 62; Juan del Encina, 55, 232; Gaspar de Villagrà, 5, 19, 103, 108; *Don Quixote*, 30, 35; Santa Teresa, 32, 38, 46, 55;  $i > e$ : Juan Manuel, *Lucanor*, 20, 223, 225; *Corvacho*, 1, 30, 43, 111, 113; Gaspar de Villagrà, 1, 15, 58, 124; *Don Quixote*, 2, 11, 35; Lope de Rueda, 28, 32; López de Ayala, 130, 185, 219, 226. See also Carnoy, *Le Latin d'Espagne*, §§ 3, 4.

<sup>1</sup> See M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, §§ 11, 18; Baist, *Grundriss* I, p. 886, § 20. This change is found frequently in Old Spanish and also in the modern dialects without exception. For Old Spanish, cf. Juan Manuel, *Lucanor*, 14, 15, 62; Berceo, *Sto. Domingo de Silos*, 6, 79, 121; Juan del Encina, *confisión*, 35, *perfisión*, 282; Juan de Mena, *perfición*, 11, 77, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 777.

<sup>3</sup> *siguro*, *sigún*, *asigurar*, *mijor*, are very frequent in Santa Teresa: *siguro*, 9, 27, 36, 38; *sigún*, 4, 9, 32; *asigurar*, 36, 46; *mijor*, 10, 15, 32, 55. They are common to most Spanish dialects and date from Vulgar Latin times, Schuchardt, *Vocalismus* I, 307, 382.

<sup>4</sup> Found practically in all the modern dialects, see Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 20; Munthe, *Anteckningar*, p. 20; Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 777; *Canc. Pop. Turolense*, 1036; Meyer-Lübke I, § 352.

DESCONTENTO > *discontento*, DESCOMPUESTO > *discompuesto*, DESCUIDO > *discuido*, DESVARÍO > *disvarío*.

In b) the cause may be the nasals *m*, *n*, *ñ*, which often cause *e* > *i*, in Portuguese, Florentine Italian, Old Spanish,<sup>1</sup> Asturian, New Mexican Spanish, etc., see § 25 and n. 1.

7. In the radical changing verbs of the third conjugation with stem vowel *e*, by influence of the forms with *i*: SERVIR > *sirvir*, PEDIR > *pidir*, DECIR > *disir*, etc. Possibly there is direct separate umlaut as in § 46, 1.

§ 47. Direct palatal influence. *e* > *i* when posttonic, after the palatals *ch*, *ll* (= *y*), *y*, *sh*, *ñ*, *rr*.<sup>2</sup> The place of articulation for these palatal consonants is much closer to *i* than to *e*, hence the change:

a) after *ch*: LECHE > *lechi*, SANCHEZ > *sanchis*, COCHE > *cochi*, NOCHE > *nochi*,<sup>3</sup> COMANCHE > *cumanchi*.

b) after *ll* (= *y*) or *y* (see also *ae*, *ee* > *ai*, *ei*, etc. §§ 62, 68, 69): CALLE > *cayi* or *cai*, VALLE > *vayi* or *vai*, OYE > *oyi*, *oi*, LEYES > *leis*, ROYE > *royi*, *roi*.

c) after *sh*: PUNSHÉ > *punshi*, ENG. CASH > *quiashe* > *quiashi*, see also § 241.

d) after *ñ*: SUEÑE > *sueñi*, SUEÑEN > *sueñin*, REGAÑE > *regañi*, EÑE > *eñi*, etc.

e) after *rr* (not very common): CORRE > *curri* (also *curre*).

§ 48. *e* > *o*. 1. By regressive assimilation before tonic *o* or *u*: ELOGIO > *ologio*, TERTULIA > *tortulia*.

2. When final in proparoxytones by analogy to masculine nouns in *o*: PÉSAME > *pésamo*, PLÁCEME > *placemo*.

§ 49. *i* > *e*.<sup>4</sup> 1. Before tonic *i* by dissimilation: MILICIA > *melisia*, VIGIL > *Begil*, VISITA > *vesita*, MEDICINA > *medesina*, OFICINA > *ofesina*, ESCRIBIR > *escrebir*, ADMITIR > *almetir*, RIDÍCULO > *redículo*, etc.

2. Before atonic *i* by dissimilation: IMITAR > *emitar*, DILIGENCIA

<sup>1</sup> In *El Poema de Alexandre* etc., see also Meyer-Lübke, I, p. 297-298.

<sup>2</sup> See also Hills, *New Mexican Spanish*, p. 712, 3, and Espinosa, *Los Comanches*, p. 9, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Nochi*, *esti*, *elli*, *li*, etc. occur in Berceo, where there is a general tendency for final atonic *e* > *i*, a peculiarity of modern Asturian and Leonese. See Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, § 7. The same phenomenon occurs also in Judeo-Spanish, according to Wiener (*Mod. Phil.*, I).

<sup>4</sup> For *e* > *i*, and the occurrence of *e* > *i* and *i* > *e*, through assimilation and dissimilation in Old Spanish, see § 46, 1, 2, and n. 1.

> *deligensia*, FELICIDAD > *felesidá*, ELIGIR > *elegir*, POSITIVO > *posetivo*, HABILIDAD > *habelidá*, etc.

3. When initial in oxytones of three syllables before pretonic *u*, by a gradual lowering of the tongue: *i* > *í* > *ɛ*: DIPUTADO > *deputau*, CIRCULAR > *sercular*, TRIBUTAR > *trebutar*, CIRUJANO > *serujano*, etc.

4. When before nasal consonants, see § 24, 2.

5. In the prefix *ins* + *p* or *t* < Lat. *ĪNS*, which becomes *es* in some words: INSTRUMENTO > *estrumento*, INSPECTOR > *espetor*, INSTINCTO > *estinto*, INSTITUTO > *estituto*. Really, modern Spanish *INS* > *is*, the form common in Bogotá (Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 816), and the Italian development of Latin *Īns* + *p* or *t*. The group *ns* was from Vulgar Latin times simple *s*, and the preceding vowel probably nasal (see Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 171). It is very likely that the old change of *ĪNS* > *es*, was due to a slight nasal influence which later disappeared, for the Old Spanish *estrumento*, Old French *estrumen*, *estruir*, *estorer*, point to an early change of *ĪNS* > *īs* > *es*. This Old Spanish tendency of initial *ĪNS* + *p* or *t* to become *es* is the one still in operation in New Mexican Spanish, and whether the change was originally due to a nasal influence, or analogy to *ĪN* + cons. > *en*, is hard to say, but inasmuch as there is no trace of *n* in the Old French and Old Spanish examples quoted above, in New Mexican Spanish and also in Portuguese, we conclude that often in Vulgar Latin *ĪNS* became *īs* > *es*. Modern Italian shows the original *ī* with no trace of nasality, while the modern French *instrument* [ɛ̃:strümã], and modern Spanish *instrumento* are evidently of erudite source, and in the last, the Spanish dialects again rebel against *ns* and say, *istrumento*, etc., as in Bogotá and rarely in New Mexico.<sup>1</sup> *es* < *INS* is also found in Aragón,<sup>2</sup> Santander,<sup>3</sup> Galicia,<sup>4</sup> Mexico,<sup>5</sup> Argentine.<sup>6</sup>

§ 50. *o* > *a*. 1. When in the initial syllable and immediately before tonic or atonic *u* due to dissimilation, and probably also to the tendency to make the vowels more open in the cases where *r* follows the *o*: OCUPAR > *acupar*, VOLUMEN > *balumen*, OSUNA > *Asuna*, ORGULLO > *arguyo*, OSCURO > *ascuro* (also *escuro*). This phenomenon

<sup>1</sup> Examples of the Latin prefix *Ī(N)S* > *es*, in Old Spanish are: *Crónica General*, 64; Juan Manuel, *Lucanor*, *estrumento*, 178; *Corvacho*, *estrumento*, 94, 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Cantas Baturras*, 56, 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Mugica*, *Dial. Cast.*, § 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Cuveiro Piñol*, 123.

<sup>5</sup> *Prieto*, *Musa Callejera*, 147.

<sup>6</sup> *Maspero*, VIII.



is peculiar to Santa Fé, and not found at all in any other place in New Mexico.<sup>1</sup>

2. After tonic *a* by progressive assimilation: PÁRBOCO > *párraco*, CATÁLOGO > *catálogo*.

3. By dissimilation before *o* + *o*: JOCOSO > *jacoso*.<sup>2</sup>

4. Unclassified: ALCOHOL > *alcahol* > *alcajol*, OCASIONADO > *acionau*.

The first instance is due to assimilation to initial *a*, and the last by influence of guttural *a* with the preceding guttural *c*.

§ 51. *o* > *e*. 1. In the initial groups *pro*, *ro*, *do*, when before tonic *u* by dissimilation, and probably also by analogy to the common prefixes *pre*, *re*, *de*: PROCURAR > *precurar*,<sup>3</sup> DOCUMENTO > *documento*, ROBUSTO > *rebusto*. In *pretesta* < (PROTESTA), there may be analogy to *pretesto* < (PRETEXTO). This change is found also in Asturias, Galicia, Mexico.<sup>4</sup>

2. In the initial groups *os* + *c*, *b*, *p*, *t*: HOSPITAL > *espital*, OBSEQUIO > *esequio*, OBSCURO > *escuro*, *escuridá*, etc., OSTENTACIÓN > *estentación*. This change is explained by M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 39, 3, as due to analogy to the regular Spanish development of *e* before *s* + cons. from Vulgar Latin *is*, *es* + cons. as Spanish *escribir*, *espacio*, etc. This phenomenon is found in Asturias,<sup>5</sup> Aragón,<sup>6</sup> Chile,<sup>7</sup> Colombia,<sup>8</sup> Argentine,<sup>9</sup> Mexico,<sup>10</sup> Galicia,<sup>11</sup> and is frequent in the Spanish of the XIVth, XVth and XVIth centuries.<sup>12</sup>

3. When final and posttonic in a few words: REMANSO > *remanse*,

<sup>1</sup> *Arguloso* occurs in *Corvacho* (1439), 83; *ascuras* in Sanchez de Badajoz I, 356 (= *d oscuras*?), and also in modern Aragonese, cf. *Canc. Pop. Turol.*, copla, 387.

<sup>2</sup> Only in Santa Fé, see 1. above.

<sup>3</sup> For *e* < *o*, due perhaps to dissimilation before *u*, compare *veluntad* < VOLUNTATE, *Cid*, 226, 334, 338, 1418, 3052, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Munthe, *Anteckningar*, p. 56; Cuveiro Piñol, 256; *Musa Callejera*, 159.

<sup>5</sup> Munthe, *Anteckningar*, 56.

<sup>6</sup> *Voces Aragonesas*, I.

<sup>7</sup> Echeverría y Reyes, *Voces usadas in Chile*, 173.

<sup>8</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 710.

<sup>9</sup> Maspero, IX.

<sup>10</sup> *Musa Callejera*, 148.

<sup>11</sup> Cuveiro Piñol, 115.

<sup>12</sup> Juan Manuel, *Lucanor, escuro*, 292; *Canc. de Baena, escuro*, 47; Juan de Mena, 37, 77; *Corvacho*, 118, 183; Lucas Fernández, 51, 132, 157; Juan del Encina, 33, 189; Sanchez de Badajoz, 38; Torres Naharro, 89, 331; *Calisto e Melíbea*, 44, 74, 81; *Don Quixote*, I, 80, 93; Fr. Luis de León, 42, 90, 108, 185; Rouanet, *Autos*, etc. Vol. IV, 1, 33.

ESQUELETO > *esquelete*, ESTABLO > *esteblo* (also English influence), UNGÜENTO > *ingüente*.

There seems to be a tendency for final posttonic *o* > *e*, after dentals and liquids in New Mexican Spanish. Compare M. Pidal's examples in Old Spanish *o* > *e*, *Gram. Hist.*, § 29, 2. For *ingüente*, see Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 946.

§ 52. *o* > *i*. 1. In the group *cho* (by analogy with the group CHE > *chi*?) through the palatal influence, see § 47 a: CHOCOLATE > *chicolate*, SERRUCHO > *serruchi*.

2. Other cases: ASTROLOGO > *astroligo*, CUANTO MÁS > *continás*, see § 74 for UA > *o*. The form *cuantimás* is found in Santa Teresa, *Escritos*, p. 23, and is also found in Mexico,<sup>1</sup> Argentine,<sup>2</sup> Aragón.<sup>3</sup> The New Mexican Spanish form is the same, with the further development of UA > *o*, as indicated above.

§ 53. *o* > *u*. 1. By regressive assimilation before *u*: REVOLUCIÓN > *revulusión*, COMUNIDAD > *cumunidá*.

2. By regressive assimilation before tonic *i*: BOÑIGA > *muñiga*, LOMBRIZ > *lumbris*.

In the last two there may be also influence of the neighboring labial consonants.

3. When before semi-consonant *i* + tonic vowels (see also § 46, 4): OCIOSO > *usioso*, OPCIÓN > *usión*. (Umlaut.)

4. In all radical changing verbs of the third conjugation with stem vowel *o* by influence of the forms with *u*: DORMIR > *durmir*, MORIR > *murir*, PODRIR > *puvrir*, etc., see also § 46, 7.

This last phenomenon of *o* > *u* is of universal occurrence in the modern Spanish dialects, being due to analogy with the forms with *u*, *durmió*, *murió*, etc., as indicated above, the latter being cases of direct umlaut.

§ 54. *u* > *o*. 1. By progressive assimilation: a) after *o*, RÓMULO > *Rómolo*, COYUNTURA > *coyontura*; b) after *a*: AMBULANCIA > *em-bolansa*.

2. By regressive assimilation: MUSOLINA > *mosolina*.

3. By partial regressive assimilation and other influences: SUSPENDER > *sospender*, RECUPERAR > *recoperar*, JUVENTUD > *joventú* (also by influence of *joven*).

<sup>1</sup> Prieto, *Musa Callejera*, 155.

<sup>2</sup> Maspero, IX.

<sup>3</sup> *Cosas Baturras*, 31.

4. By dissimilation: FULMINANTE > *forminante*, SUSPIRAE > *sospirar*, SUSPIRO > *sospiro*, ACUMULAR > *acomular*.<sup>1</sup>

5. When final in proparoxytones and paroxytones, through the difficulty of producing a well rounded *u* when far removed from the accent, *u* > *y* > *ɔ* > *ɔ*: a) ÍMPITU > *ímpito*, ESPÍRITU > *espírito*.

b) CORPUS > *corpos*, (*Día de Corpus*), TRIBU > *tribo*. This change is in harmony with a regular Old Spanish law, i. e. final Latin atonic *ō*, *ō*, *ŭ*, *ū* > Sp. *o*. The New Mexican Spanish is applying the law to a few isolated forms which were originally of learned origin.

In *Chifleta* < CHUFLETA, the *u* has become *i*, by influence of *chiflar* and through palatal *ch*, see § 47.

§ 55. Analogical development of Latin *ĕ*, *ō*, in derivatives. When Latin tonic *ĕ*, *ō* become *ié*, *ué* in Spanish, the dialects carry on the development also to all derivatives even if the *ĕ* or *ō* were originally in an atonic position, and even the literary language has accepted many such forms.

In the Spanish of New Mexico the diphthongization is always found in all derivatives of words containing the changes in question, and the lack of diphthongization is rare.

Examples: a) *ĕ* > *ie*: *siertesa*, *mieloso*, *pedrada*, *casamientero*, *vientorrón*, *alientau*, *fierramienta*, *nietcsito*, *tiendero*, *dientista*, *sieguedá*, *vientesillo*, *bienísimo*, etc.

b) *o* > *ue*: *buenísimo*, *espuelon*,<sup>2</sup> *huesamenta*, *espuelaso*, *puertesuela*, *casuelita*, *cuelgaduras*.

## B. Vowel Compounds.

### a) Diphthongs.<sup>3</sup>

§ 56. Initial atonic *AI* > *i*<sup>4</sup> (see also Juxtaposition § 87 and *AHI* > *i*, § 63): *AIRADO* > *irado*,<sup>5</sup> *AISLADO* > *islado*.

<sup>1</sup> *Sospirar*, *sospiro*, may not be developed from the Spanish forms with *u*, but may be preservations of the regularly developed Old Spanish forms.

<sup>2</sup> *Espuela* is from Old High German *Spōr(o)*. The development of Germanic *ō*, to *ué* in Spanish conforming with Latin *ō*.

<sup>3</sup> In our classification of vowel compounds we follow the generally accepted modern Spanish terminology. The cases of vowel compounds not resulting in a new vowel, but where the hiatus is broken by, *ĕ* and *o* > *ĭ* and *u*, are treated under Juxtaposition, IV.

<sup>4</sup> While Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 766, gives instances of *AHO* > *o*, *EU* > *u*, etc., he does not cite a single instance of *AHI*, *AI* > *i*.

<sup>5</sup> This may not be a New Mexican development, but a form preserved from Old Spanish and regularly developed from Latin *IRATU*.

§ 57. Initial AU > u (see also § 87, Juxtaposition, and AHU > u, § 66): AULLAR > *uyar*, AUMENTO > *umento*. This phenomenon is found also in Bogotá, cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 766.

§ 58. Tonic or atonic AU > a or o: a) AU > a:<sup>1</sup> AUNQUE > *anque*, *onque* (see § 34), FAUSTÍN > *Fastín*, PRECAUCIÓN > *precasi3n*, CAUSA > *cosa* (rare).

b) AU > o: AUTORIDAD > *otoridá*, LAURELA > *Lorela*, AUTOMÓVIL > *otomovil*. Compare Latin AU > o, in AURU(M) > *oro*, AURICLA > *oreja*, etc. a phenomenon dating from Vulgar Latin. See Grandgent, *V. L.*, § 229.

§ 59. EI > e or i, in the numerals VEINTE Y UNO to *veinte y nueve*, but *veinte* and *treinta* always when alone: VEINTE Y DOS > *ventid3s*, *vintid3s*, TREINTA Y CINCO > *trentisinco* > *trintisinco*, etc. The rule is, then, that the change of EI > e or i takes place when it loses its accent through proclisis and by regressive assimilation. The change to e is the more common. It is not improbable, however, that both of these phenomena may be preserved from different Old Spanish dialects, since both developments occur in the old language.<sup>2</sup>

§ 60. EU > u, in the initial or medial syllable, tonic or atonic (see also Juxtaposition, § 83): REUMOS > *rumos*, EUROPA > *Uropa*,<sup>3</sup> EUSEBIO > *Usebio*, EULOGIA > *Ulogia*, EULALIA > *Ulalia*, EUSTAQUIO > *Ustaquio*, EUFEMIA > *Ufemia*, ELEUTERIO > *Eluterio*, *Luterio*.<sup>4</sup>

1. Rarely EU > o: EULOGIA > *Ologia*, EUFRASIA > *Ofrasia*.

§ 61. eu < EP + C > au: RECEPCI3N > *reseusi3n* > *resausi3n*, CONCEPCI3N > *conseusi3n* > *consausi3n*, EXCEPCI3N > *eseusi3n* > *esausi3n*. The middle stage is the regular New Mexican Spanish development (see § 176), and the change to au is peculiar to Santa F3. For the cause of the change see § 176.

#### b) Dissyllabic groups.

§ 62. AE > e or ai (see also § 68). When ae has the accent on the first vowel, the regular development in New Mexico is to ai, and when the accent is on the e, the result is e, but the rule is not a fixed one, and the development AE, A3 > e is everywhere prevalent

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AU > a, in the Latin of Spain, *exadi*, *agustus*, *Cladio*, etc., (Carnoy, 86). See also Lindsay, *Latin Language*, § 38.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Pidal, *El Dialecto Leon3s*, § 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Uropa* is found in *El Poema de Fern3n Gon3alcz*, Copla 733, and is also found in Argentine (Maspero, VII).

<sup>4</sup> Also found in Bogotá, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 766.

in New Mexico, while in the words *caer*, *traer* the *ái* development is the only regular one in all parts, except Taos and Albuquerque, where the changes *TRAEER*, *CAER* > *trer*, *quer* are also found. Examples: *MAESTRO* > *mestro*, *maistro*, *RAFAEL* > *Rafel*, *Rufail*, *ISRAEL* > *Isrel*, *Israil*, *TRAEERÁ* > *trairá*, *CAER* > *cai(r)* (Taos, Albuquerque, *quer*), *TRAEER* > *trai(r)* (Taos, Albuq. also *trer*) *CAE* > *cai*, *TRAEEN* > *train*.<sup>1</sup>

*Ae* is rarely preserved in any of the popular dialects, but the resulting changes are not everywhere the same. The rule *ÁE* > *ai*, *AE* > *e*, is also closely followed in other dialects but, as in New Mexican Spanish the rule is not absolute. For epenthetic *y* introduced to break the hiatus in New Mexico, Asturias (Munthe, *Anteckningar*, 48), *cayer*, *trayer*, etc., see § 97. The change *ÁE* (and also *AE*, though less frequently) > *ai*, is found in New Mexico, Mexico, Chile (Lenz, *Chil. Stud.*, I, 273), Buenos Ayres, Vizcaya (Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 21), Andalusia, (Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, 313), Judeo-Spanish (Subak, in *Zeitschrift* XXX, 136), Asturias, (Munthe, *Anteckningar*, 48), Aragón (*Cantas Baturras*, 15, 20, 31), Bogotá (Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 768). The change of *AE* > *e* is more frequent in Bogotá, New Mexico, Asturias, (and in the last two dialects *ae* > (also) *ayé*, as we have indicated already). Compare *AE* > *ě* in Vulgar and Classic Latin. Latin *AE* > *ě* was of very early date, and *ai* was a still older group for *ae*.<sup>2</sup> The development of *ÁE* > *ai* was regular in Spanish, *AMĀTĪS* > *amades* > *amáis*, etc., but other developments are also found.<sup>3</sup>

§ 63. Initial *AHI* > *i* (see also *AI* > *i*, § 56): *AHINCARSE* > *incarse*, *AHIJAR* > *ijar*, *AHIJADO* > *ijado*.

Rarely the forms *ájau*, *áincarse*, etc. are also found.

§ 64. Initial or medial *AO*, *AHO* > *o* (see also Juxtaposition § 87): *A OJO* > *ojo*, *DESAHOGO* > *desogo*, *EXTRAORDINARIO* > *estror-dinario*, *TAPAOJO* > *tapojo*, *SANAHOBIA* > *sanoria*, *AHORCAR* > *orcar*, *AHORRAR* > *orrrar*, *AHOGARSE* > *ogarse*, *COMPRARON* > *compraon* > *comprón*, *PARA DONDE* > *paonde* > *ponde*, etc.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *trer*, *quer*, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 764, sees an influence of the vowel which characterizes the conjugation. This explanation does not convince me.

<sup>2</sup> Hale and Buck, *Latin Grammar*, § 10, a.

<sup>3</sup> *ÁE* = *ai* in Lucas Fernández, *trai*, 62, 122; Sanchez de Badajoz, *trai*, I, 354; Santa Teresa, *tray*, *trayn*, 14, 41, 44, 47, 54; *Comedia del Esclavo del Demonio* (Buchanan), *cay*, 54, etc. *ÁE* > *a*, is found in Torres Naharro I, *mastro*, 375, 400, *asta* (= *Á ÉSTA*), 414, etc.

<sup>4</sup> This change occurs also in Bogotá (Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 764).

§ 65. Final *ao* > *au*: CACAO > *cacau*, BAO > *bau*. When the group *ao* is the result of the fall of an intervocalic consonant, this change does not always take place. The rule seems to be that the *ao* > *au* when the intervocalic consonant in question fell early, while in cases when the consonant has disappeared recently, the group may not necessarily become *au*, but remain.

1. ADO > *ao* > *au*: COMPRADO > *comprau*, LADO > *lau*, SOLDADO > *soldau*, ESTADO > *estau*, etc. The *s* added for the plural does not alter the change: *soldaus*, *laus*, etc.

2. When the silent consonant is not *d*, the rule is more capricious: CABALLO > *cabayo* > *cabao*, CENTAVO > *sentao*, *sentau*, MANO > *mão*, *mãu*, ALCABO > *alcao*, *alcau*, *alcó*, LLEVARON > *yevaon*, HAGO > *hao* (see § 29).

The above phenomena are common, especially ADO > *au*, in the popular language of many regions, both in Spain and America. See Baist, *Grundriss*, 884, § 11; Munthe, *Anteckningar*, 31; Meyer-Lübke I, § 435. In Bogotá *ao* remains, See Cuervo *Apuntaciones*, § 752; also in Castilian, Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, page 67.

§ 66. Initial AHU > *u* (see also AU > *u*, § 57): AHUMAR > *umar*,<sup>1</sup> AHUYENTAR > *uyentar*.<sup>1</sup>)

§ 67. EE > *e*, when the last *e* has the accent: CREER > *crer*, LEER > *ler*, CREENCIA > *crensia*. (See Juxtaposition § 82). This is the application of an old law, see M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 31, 2a. Where the literary language has now *ee*, the old language had often developed *ee* to *e*, cf. Juan Manuel, *Lucanor*, *crencia*, 247, *crer*, 24, 258, etc.

§ 68. EE > *ei*, monosyllabic or dissyllabic, when the first *e* has the accent (see § 62): CREEN > *créin*, LEE > *lei*, CREE > *crei*. When dissyllabic it may develop to *éyi* [eji]: CREEN > *crein* or *creyin* [krejin], LEE > *léi* or *leyi* [lejii] etc. Furthermore one may hear everywhere, *creye*, *leye*, etc. (see § 83, Note 2). This development of *e* > *i*, when in hiatus with a preceding tonic *e*, is common in Old Spanish as in *BE(G)E* > *ree* > *rei*, *LĒ(G)E* > *lee* > *lei*,<sup>2</sup> etc. See Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 28, 2. See also *AE* > *ai*, § 62.

<sup>1</sup> Also *ajumar*, *ajuyentar*, see § 139.

<sup>2</sup> The New Mexican Spanish plurals are, *lés*, *lés* or *leyis*, *réis*, *réis* or *reyis*, etc. Compare, Old Spanish, *reis*, *bucis*, M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 75.

§ 69. *ef* > *i* (see § 59): SONREIR > *sonrir* etc., ENGREIRSE > *ingrirse* etc., REIR > *rir*, FREIR > *frir*, QUE DIZ QUE > *queisque*, > *quisque*, VEÍA > *vía*.<sup>1</sup>

The New Mexicans often say also, *sonriir*, *riir* (the intermediate stage?).

§ 70. *eo* > *ió* or *o* (see also § 83): CREOQUE > *croque*, LOECADIA > *Liocaria* or *Locaria*, CREO EN DIOS > *Críon Diós*, *Crondiós*, TEODOSIA > *Todosio*, PERO > *peo* > *po*, NO VEO BIEN > *no vió bien*. See also § 9, and Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §§ 764—768.

c) Semi-consonantal *ɨ*, *ɥ* + vowel.

§ 71. *íá* > *a*. 1. When tonic by dissimilation before *i* + vowel of a following syllable DIARIO > *dario*, PENITENCIARIA < *penitensaria*.

2. When medial and tonic before the palatal *ch*: CARIANCHO > *carancho*, MUY BEANCHO < *murriancho* or *murranch*.

3. When final and posttonic in MOLESTIA > *molesta*, probably a new formation made directly from *molestar*, as *ayuda* (*ayudar*), etc.

§ 72. *ié* > *e* when tonic before *i* + vowel by dissimilation (see § 70): PACIENCIA > *pasensia*, APARIENCIA > *aparensia*, CONCIENCIA > *consensia*, EXPERIENCIA > *esperensia*, CONVENIENCIA > *convenensia*, CIENCIA > *sensia*, OBEDIENCIA > *obedensia*.<sup>2</sup> This phenomenon occurs also in Santander, Vizcaya (Mugica 10, 46); Galicia (Cuveiro Piñol, 231); Aragón (*Canc. Pop. Turolense*, 1256); Asturias (Rato y Hevia 36). See also Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 901, and Maspero, VI. *Greta* (GRIETA) must be of western Spanish-Portuguese origin.

§ 73. *ie* > *i*, when proclitic in the numerals from *diez y seis* to *diez y nueve*: *disiseis*, *disisiete*, *disiocho*, *disinueve*, and also in CIENTOPIEZ > *sintopíe*. This reduction of proclitic *ie* > *i* in numerals dates from Old Spanish and the modern dialects have preserved it.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vía* may be formed regularly from *ver*, while *veía* is from the Old Spanish *veer*. *Vía* is found in the XVth century, cf. Juan de Mena, *Obras*, 81; *Calisto e Melibea*, 76; also in XVIth century *Lazarillo*, 4, 20, *Don Quixote* I, 15, 103; Gaspar de Villagrà, 55; Fernández de Pulgar, *Claros Varonas de Castilla*, 65. The development *veía* > *vía*, however, is not improbable.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also the reduction of tonic *ie* to *i* in the XVIth century in -ELLU > -iello > -illo, etc. See Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 10, 2.

<sup>3</sup> For proclitic *ie* > *i* in Old Spanish see *Primera Crónica General*, 104, 105, 114, 152, 155, 178, 193. In the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* are found *timpo*, *vine*, *bine*, *tinc*, *quiro*, etc., a phenomenon which lead some to believe in an accentuation *ie*, as a very early one, probably the earliest, from *ĕ* > *ie*, thus, *ĕ* > *ĕ̄* > *eĕ* > *ie* > *i*.

§ 74.  $UA > o$  in *continás* < CUANTOMÁS. For  $o > i$ , and *cuantimás* found in Santa Teresa, see § 52, 2.

§ 75. For Castilian *ue* (< Lat.  $\delta$ ), New Mexican Spanish has *o* in: *pos*<sup>1</sup> = *pues*, *logo*, *lo*, = *luego*, *rogo* = *ruego*. This phenomenon is rare and evidently of Galician or Portuguese origin.

§ 76. *ue* (through an older accentuation *úe*) > *u*, when tonic: *pus*<sup>1</sup> = *pues*, *tútano* = *tuétano*. *Tútano* occurs in *Corvacho*, 135. Cf. Körting 9354; Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 710.

§ 77.  $UE > e$ . This interesting phenomenon is rare; it has taken place in the following New Mexican words: PRUEBO > *prebo*, *prebar*, etc., GRUESO > *greso*, (CLUECO > \**culueco* > *culeco*?). The same phenomenon occurs in some instances in Old Spanish from original Latin  $\delta > ue$ : FRÖNTE > *frucnte* (found as late as Juan del Encina, 315) > *frente*; COLÖBRA > *culuebra* > *culebra*; FLÖCCU > *flueco* > *fleco*, etc. In Spanish America, *prebo* is found in Mexico and Porto Rico. The law seems to be  $UE > e$ , after an *l* or *r* medial or in a group. The explanation given by Marden (*Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, 20) and accepted by Menéndez Pidal (*Gram. Hist.*, § 13) seems to be final.<sup>2</sup>

§ 78.  $UO > o$ , tonic or atonic: a) tonic: LENGUÓN > *lengón*, AFECTUOSO > *afetoso*, RESPETUOSO > *respectoso*, IMPETUOSO > *impitoso*, VIRTUOSO > *virtoso*.

b) atonic: DE CONTINUO > *de contino*, INDIVIDUO > *endivido*, PERPETUO > *perpeto*, MONSTRUO > *mostro*.

The *u* here is very weak, and the *o* being stronger absorbs it. The change may be compared to the fall of *u* before tonic *u* or atonic

Menéndez Pidal (*Cantar de Mio Cid*, p. 145) is of a different opinion. See also Goidánich, *L'origine e le forme della Dittongazione Romanza* (Halle, 1907) pp. 15-18. It is very improbable that *ié* could be reduced to *i*, but on the other hand it may become *e*, see § 71. The reduction of proclitic *ie* > *i* is found also in Chile, Mexico, cf. Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 17. In Santander *ié* > *e*, in the numerals also as, § 72, and not *i*, Mugica, p. 10. Compare also the early reduction of *ie* (<  $\epsilon$ ) > *e* in Anglo-Norman (Suchier, *Gröber's Grundriss* I, 572).

<sup>1</sup> *Pues* <  $\text{pöst}$ , is a regular development, while, *pos* (Galician and Portuguese) is the result of  $\text{pöst}$ , used as a proclitic. *Pus* is a development of *pues*, probably through an original accentuation, \**pües*. *Pos* and *pus* are both found in all the modern dialects. See Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 15, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 766; Mugica, *Dial. Cast.*, 11.

<sup>2</sup> In the modern Spanish dialects, the phenomenon is also found in Aragonese (*Cantas Baturras, prebar*, 77); Asturian (Marden, *ut supra*).



*o* in Vulgar Latin<sup>1</sup> by the end of the second century A. D., and a phenomenon not rare in older Spanish literature: *Fernan Gonçález antigo* 184, 216; Juan del Encina, *contino* 64, 102, 197, 221 Sanchez de Badajoz, *contino* I, 28, 56, 92, 362; Torres Naharr *contino* I, 33, 65, 228, 286, 350; Santa Teresa, *contino*, 2, 15, 49 Fr. Luis de Leon 92, 159, 171, 174, 182; *Lazarillo de Tormes*, *contino* 27; Quevedo, *contino* II, 7.

#### d) Consonantization of *y*.

§ 79.  $u > b$  (*v*), when atonic in the diphthong *au* in some words. The rounded *u* closes the lips, and with the *l* or *r* following tends to make a single group with the labial friction [v]: AURELIO > *Abrelío*, JAULA > *jabla*, BRAULIA > *Brablia*, BAULE > *bable*.<sup>1</sup> In *valbar* < VALUAR, the same explanation holds, with also a probable influence of the initial *v*. Compare Latin PAULUS > Sp. *Pablo*.

1. In *bastisar* < BAUTIZAR, there seems to be an anticipation of the following *z* (= New Mexican Spanish, *s*).

### IV. Juxtaposition.

§ 80. Hiatus is rare in New Mexican Spanish. Excepting the late development mentioned below, the tendency is to destroy the original Spanish hiatus wherever found, either by a change of one of the contiguous vowels or by contraction.<sup>2</sup> We have already seen in vowel changes (III), how hiatus is often destroyed, AHI > *i* § 63; AHU > *u* § 66; EU > *u* § 60; AE > *ai* or *e* § 62; AHO > *o* § 64; EE > *e* § 67; EE > *ei* § 68; EI > *i* § 69; EO > *o* § 70. We have treated all these cases under vowel changes. We are now concerned chiefly with synalefa and with hiatus destroyed by the change of  $E > i$ ,  $o > y$ , either within or between words.

§ 81. Hiatus remains. Where the hiatus is of late development, brought about for the most part by the fall of an intervocalic consonant (§ 178—185), it usually remains, and practically always so when the first vowel is tonic. Examples where hiatus may remain: ELLA

<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon is also found in Colombia, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 750. For examples of the phenomenon in Vulgar Latin, see Schuchardt, *Vocalismus* II, 502-503.

<sup>2</sup> This general tendency to destroy hiatus is a law dating from the Old Spanish period, cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 30, 2.

> *eja* > *ea*, ELLO > *ejo* > *eo*, ESTRELLA > *estrea*,<sup>1</sup> DEDO > *deo*, IDO > *ío*, TODO > *too*, HAGA > *haa*, BARILLERO > *bariero* (four syllables).

a) Hiatus within words.

§ 82. Of two like vowels coming together, only one remains: NADA > *naa* > *na*, ISAAC > *Isac*, POSEER > *poser*, LEER > *ler*, TODO > *to*. This was the case in Old Spanish when the hiatus was not broken by a change of one of the vowels.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note how inconsistent the literary language is, which has accepted the popular forms, *ver*, *ser*, etc., and has refused to accept *crer*, *ler*, *poser*, etc. Like *creer*, *poseer*, *leer*, etc. Old Spanish had *veer*, *seer*,<sup>3</sup> etc.

§ 83. *e* in hiatus before *a*, *o*, *u* > *i*<sup>4</sup>: 1. Atonic *e*: LEONARDO > *Ljonardo*, PELEAR > *peľiar*, REAL > *rjal*, PEÓN > *pjon*, DESEAR > *desjar*, REHUSAR > *rjusar*, PEOR > *pjor*, REUNIR > *rjunir*, LEOCADIA > *Ljocaria*, PEDAZO > *pjazo*, MEDALLA > *mjaya*, DESEO > *desjo* (also *deseyo*, § 83, Note 1).

2. Tonic *e*<sup>5</sup>: TRAJERON > *trajeon* > *trajion*, DIJERON > *dijeon* *dijion*,<sup>6</sup> CREO QUE > *crioque*. (For EÚ > *ju* > *u*, and IÓ, EÓ > *o*, see §§ 60, 70.

§ 84. *o* in hiatus, tonic or atonic, before *a*, *e*, *i*, > *u*: TOALLA > *tuaya*, ALMOHADA > *almuada*, POR ALLÁ > *puayá*, POR AQUI > *pu-*

<sup>1</sup> The complete fall of intervocalic *ll*, with no trace of *y*, is one of the distinguishing features of New Mexican Spanish in the groups, *alli*, *elli*, *olli*, *illu*, *ulli*, *illa*, *ille*, *illo*, *ella*, *ello*, *illi*, §§ 158, 159.

<sup>2</sup> See Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 31.

<sup>3</sup> In New Mexican Spanish one may also hear *creyer*, *creye*, *leyer*, *leye*, etc. see § 68. This tendency to destroy the hiatus by *y* between like vowels is also very old. Cf. *Libro de Alexandre*, *veyer*, 26, 64, 217, 296, *seyer*, 32, 64, 375, etc.; Lucas Fernández, *creyer*, 130; Juan del Encina, *creyer*, 230; *Cancionero Inédito* (XVth century), *deseye*, 137; Cuervo states (*Apuntaciones*, p. 56) that even in cultivated speech, the unaccented of two like contiguous vowels should be only a slight prolongation of the accented vowel.

<sup>4</sup> For the changes in accent here and in §§ 84, 85, etc., see § 9.

<sup>5</sup> When the *e* is tonic, the change is rare; the hiatus may remain or a new change may take place as CREOQUE > *croque*, etc. Furthermore the hiatus may be broken by *y*, PELEO > *peleo* or *peleyo*, CREE > *creye*, etc. See § 82, n. 1. In the rapid speech of New Mexicans however *e* > *i*, even when tonic VEO > *veo*, but VEO MUY BIEN > *vió muy bien*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> In all of New Mexico, north of Santa Fé, and in Colorado, the forms *trajion*, *dijion*, etc., are the most common. In Albuquerque and the mountain districts to the east, I have often heard *trajén*, *dijén*, probably by analogy to the first person, *dije*, *traje*, etc.

*quí*, SEÑORA > *señúa*,<sup>1</sup> BOATO > *juato*, NO HAY > *nyay*, JUAQUÍN > *Juaquin*, TODAVÍA > *tuavía*, POETA > *pueta*, POEMA > *puema*, NOE > *Nue*, COHETE > *cüete*, OIDO > *uido*, OIR > *uir*, MOHINO > *muino*, TODITO > *tuito*, TODO Y > *toduí* > *tui* (*toi*), CONTODO Y TODO > *con tui todo*, ROIDO > *ruído*, ROER > \**roir* > *ruir* (also *royer*).<sup>2</sup>

§ 85. Groups of more than two vowels, most of which are the result of silent consonants. (For silent consonants, see §§ 278-285.)

1. IEDO, IERO > *ieo* > *ió*: SUPIERON > *supiéon* > *supión*, MIEDO > *míó*, DIVIDIERON > *dividióon*, QUIERO > *quió*, PARTIERON > *partión*. See also § 83.

2. IERA, IEDA > *iea* > *ía*: SUPIERA > *supiá*, HUBIERA > *hubiá*, HIEDA > *jiéa* > *jiá*. See also § 83.

3. UEGO, UEDO > *uó*, o: LUEGO > *luó*, lo, PUEDO > *pueo*, *puó* (*po*), RUEGO > *ruó* (*ro*).

4. UEDA, UERA, UEGA > *uá*: PUEDA > *puá*, FUERA > *juá*, BUEGA > *rua*.

Other groups do not contract so frequently. These phenomena observed for New Mexican Spanish are found also in many of the other dialects of Spain and America.<sup>3</sup>

The change of *e* > *i*, and *o* > *u*, when before vowels, especially when before tonic vowels and not like vowels, is general in Vulgar Latin.<sup>4</sup> In Old Spanish it was of general occurrence in *oa*, *oi* > *ua*, *ui*. Compare *JOAN* > *Juan*, *CÖÄGULO* > *cuajo*, *FÜGĒRE* > *foyr* > *huir* (> New Mexican Spanish *juír*), *ROYDO* > *ruido*, etc.

#### b) Hiatus between words.

§ 86. Of two or more like vowels coming together only one remains (cf. § 82): *UNA ABEJA* > *un abeja*, *ERA AGUA* > *er agua*, *QUE*

<sup>1</sup> SEÑORA > *señoa* > *señya* > *señá*, *siñúá*, *siña*, *ña*.

<sup>2</sup> The tendency for *e*, *o* > *i*, *u* when in hiatus, before vowels is a wide spread one in Asturias, Andalusia, Buenos Ayres and Mexico, see Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 31, n. 1. To the localities mentioned by M. Pidal, I would add that the same phenomenon occurs in Chile, cf. R. Lenz, *Chilenische Studien* I, 273; Aragón, *Cosas Baturras*, 49, 59. In Old Spanish the question of hiatus or synalefa is as yet unsettled, and it is possible that the semi-consonants *i* or *u* may be the phenomena involved in many supposed cases of synalefa. As to the Spanish of the XVth-XVIIth centuries synalefa is very common, see § 96, and Robles, *Ortología Clásica*, 89-93.

<sup>3</sup> In Aragón, cf. *Cuentos Baturros*, *supiá* I, 14, *quidá* 45, 111, *quisidá* 72, *puá* 63; Andalusia, cf. *Cantes Flamencos* (Machado y Álvarez), *quió* 65, 103, 227.

<sup>4</sup> See Schuchardt, *Vocalismus* I, 438. In Oscan, Indo-European *ē* in hiatus became *i* (Buck, *Gram. Osc.-Umb.*, § 38).

ES > *ques*, LO OTRO > *l'otro*, SUPO OCHO > *sup'ochó*, TE ESTÁS > *te'stás*, TU ÚNICO HIJO > *t'unicu'íjo*, YA VA Á ARDER > *ya va'rder*, NO LE HE HECHO > *no lecho*, SI IBAS > *sí'bas*.

§ 87. Final *a*, tonic or atonic, falls before any vowel: LA ARPA > *l'arpa*, PARA ELLA > *par'ea*, ESA IGLESIA > *es'ilesia*, LA ÚNICA > *l'única*, VAMOS Á ENTRAR > *vamos entrar*, HABÍA OCHO > *habí'ochó*, ESTÁ ENTERO > *est'entero*, ERA ÉL > *er'él*, etc.

§ 88. Final *e*, tonic or atonic, is elided only before *e* or *i* (cf. § 69): SE ESCAPÓ > *s'escapó*, DE IRSE > *d'irse*, ÉL SE IRÁ > *él s'irá*, NO LE IGUALA > *no l'igualá*, DEBE IR > *deb'ir*.

§ 89. Final *e*, tonic or atonic, before *a*, *o* or *u*, is never elided, but becomes semi-consonant *ɣ*, just as within a word (see § 83): QUE HAY > *quɣay*, DESDE ALLÍ > *desdɣ ái*, ME HAN > *mián*, SE OFRECE > *sɣ ofrese*, DE UN LADO > *diún lau*, ES DE USTED > *es dɣisté*.

§ 90. Final *o*, tonic or atonic, is usually elided before *o* or *u*: SE HIZO HOMBRE > *s'isombre*, COMPRO OCHO > *comprocho*, LO UNO Y LO OTRO > *l'uno y l'otro*, NO HUBO NADA > *n'ubo naa*.

§ 91. Final *o*, tonic or atonic, is never elided before *a*, *e*, *i*, but becomes semi-consonant *ɥ* (see also § 84): NO HAY > *nɥ ay*, TENGO ANSIAS > *tengu ansias*, COMPRÓ ALGO > *comprɥ algo*, LO ENTREGO > *lɥ entrego*, EL MÍO ES ASÍ > *el miɥ es así*, QUIERO IR > *quierɥ ir*, LO HIZO > *lɥ iso*, LO DICE > *lo ise* > *lɥ ise*.

§ 92. The final vowels *i*, *u*, are elided only when each is followed by a like vowel (see § 86). Before other vowels they remain always as semi-consonants *ɨ* and *ɥ*, never with their pure vowel quality, and they usually lose the accent (see §§ 16, 17): TÚ ERES > *tɥ éres*, SU OFICIO > *sɥ oficio*, TU HIJO > *tɥ íjo*, DÍ Á EL > *díá él*, NI ÉL > *nɨ él*, NI UNO > *nɨúno* (also *ñel*, *ñuno*, § 128).

§ 93. Final *a*, *i*, *o*, *u*, may sometimes remain, causing an initial atonic *e* of the following word to disappear<sup>1</sup>: LA ENTREGUÉ > *l'entregué* or *la'ntregué*, LO ENTIENDO > *lɥ entiendo* or *lo'ntiendo*, MI ESTUFA > *mɨ estufa* or *mí'stufa*, TU ESTABAS > *tɥ estabas* or *tu'stabas*.

§ 94. In the final groups *ia*, *ie*, *io*, *ya*, *ye*, *yi*, *yo*, when immediately before a vowel, the vowel is lost and the semi-consonantal *ɨ*

<sup>1</sup> This is more frequent when the final vowel has been strengthened by another like vowel, LA HA ENTREGADO > *laantregau* > *la'ntregau* > rarely also *l'entregau* (< LE HE ENTREGADO).

or  $\mu$  combine with the following vowel. This speaks emphatically in favor of the consonantal value of  $\dot{\imath}$  and  $\mu$  in these positions (see §§ 16, 17, etc):

1.  $\dot{\imath}a$ ,  $\dot{\imath}e$ ,  $\dot{\imath}o$  (for the shifting of the accent, see § 9): TENÍA UNO > *tenjuno*, EL PIÉ ANCHO > *el pjancho*, VIÓ Á UNO > *vjá uno* > *vjuno*, DE Á UNO > *djá uno* > *djuno*.

2.  $\mu a$ ,  $\mu e$ ,  $\mu i$ ,  $\mu o$ : NO HA HECHO > *nyá echo* > *nuecho*, FUE Á VER > *juá ver*, NO HE IDO > *nue ido* > *nyido*,<sup>1</sup> UN INDIVIDUO HACE > *un endividu ase*, PARA VERLO Á ÉL > *pavelyaél* > *pavelyéel*.

§ 95. The changes resulting from vowels in hiatus in New Mexican Spanish agree in many respects with those of Bogotá, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §§ 151, 152. In the cases of  $e > \dot{\imath}$  and  $o > \mu$ , Cuervo does not state what is the exact value of these, but I presume they have the semi-consonantal value of the New Mexican sounds. Cuervo has not given instances of more than two vowels juxtaposed. The elimination of hiatus is a general tendency in all the Spanish dialects, but the changes resulting are not the same in all regions. Scholars who have written about the modern dialects have treated this matter superficially, but it is evident that such study may be of some utility in fixing the conditions where hiatus or synalefa occur in Old Spanish. The changes of  $e > \dot{\imath}$  and  $o > \mu$ , found in New Mexican Spanish and also in Bogotá are of the greatest importance and must be considered in studying Old Spanish, since it is very improbable that they are of late isolated development. In Northern Mexico, in the few localities I have visited,<sup>2</sup> the results of hiatus are in many respects the same as in New Mexico. From the study of dialect literature, only isolated phenomena can be observed, and no exact comparisons can be made. The change of  $e > i$  when in hiatus before another vowel seems to be the only universal law in the modern dialects, and this dates from Vulgar Latin.<sup>3</sup>

§ 96. Comparisons with Old Spanish. It may be of interest to compare the changes resulting from juxtaposition of vowels in New Mexican Spanish with those in Old Spanish.

<sup>1</sup> In the rapid careless speech of New Mexicans, there may be no difference between *no he ido* and *no ha ido*:

NO HE IDO > *nueido*  
 NO HA IDO > *nyaido* > *nyido*; also { FUI Á VER  
 FUE Á VER > *juá ver*.

<sup>2</sup> Chihuahua, Sonora, Coahuila.

<sup>3</sup> Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 224.

a) Differences: 1. **e** in New Mexican Spanish, Bogotá, etc. > *ɨ* when in hiatus before *a*, *o*, *u*, but is elided in Old Spanish. Examples: *El Poema del Cid*, *lan* (> **LE HAN**) 62, *dotros* 375, *duna* 427, *dalma* 2619, 3581; *Primera Crónica General*, *dantes* 3, *dotros* 4, 6, *dun* 8, 12, 34, *tamo* 40 (> **TE AMO**); *El Poema de Fernán Gonçález*, *dagora* 4, *duna* 37, *daqui* 181, 632, *tas* (> **TE HAS**) 343; Juan Manuel *Lucanor*, *darmas* 61. In the XVth and XVIth centuries the same phenomena are found: *Cancionero Inédito* (G. Nieva) *daquel* 11, 12, *m'an* 22, *d'amor* 49, 127; Lucas Fernández, *d'aqui* 33, 55, *s'olvidó* 131, *d'ansias* 220; *Corvacho*, *dalto* 108, 202, *dotro* 96; Juan del Encina, *d'hoy* 180, *d'un* 240, 245, *d'allá* 245, *d'aquí* 252; Sanchez de Badajoz I, *d'antes* 41, 59, *d'oros* 65; Torres Naharro I, *dun* 25, 49, 81, 83, 116, *d'aquí* 29, 199, 254, 280, *m'han* 134, 258, 335, *m'has* 63, 257 etc.

2. **o** in New Mexican Spanish > *u*, when in hiatus before *a*, *e*, *i*, remains in Old Spanish, as a rule, but is in some cases elided. Elision: *El Poema del Cid*, *todel* 1318, 2684, 3184.<sup>1</sup>

3. Final *a*, which disappears before any vowel in New Mexican Spanish (see § 87), Bogotá etc., may remain in Older Spanish, and the ensuing vowel is absorbed: *El Poema del Cid*, *contral* 3471, *poral* 2297; *El Poema de Fernán Gonçález*, *porol* 48, 159; Juan Manuel, *Lucanor*, *paral* 150, 206, 209, 212; Torres Naharro I, *a'sta* (< **Á ESTA**) 414.

b) Similarities: 1. The only definite case of similarity is that of like vowels contracting into one: this holds true for Old Spanish and for all the modern dialects especially, **e + e** > *e*. Instances in Old Spanish are very numerous, and I shall give only a few: *El Poema del Cid*, *del* (< **DE ÉL**) 23, *desto* 826, *ques* (**QUE ES**) 1646, 2294; *Primera Crónica General*, *dellos* 3, 8, *com'omne* 26; *Poema de Fernán Gonçález*, *desto* 152, 155, 276; Berceo, *Sto. Domingo de Silos*, *desta*, *deste* 247, 301, 302; Juau Manuel, *Lucanor*, *desto*, *deste* 7, 10, 94, 209, 248; Lucas Fernández, *ques* (**QUE ES**) 9, 13, 60, 87, *nos* (**NO OS**) 17, 18, 93; *Corvacho*, *desto* 5, 12, 35, 95; Juan del Encina, *and'allà*, *and'acá* 30, 34; *ques* (**QUE ES**) 5, 17, 19, 30, 41, 60, 96, 244, 280; Torres Naharro, *d'este* 28, 74, 190, 235, *y'os* 272, 426; Fray Luis de Granada, *del* (**DE ÉL**), *deste* 19, 27, 30, 54, *della*, *dessa* 41, 129, *Don Quixote* I, *deste*, *desta*, *dellos*, *dellas* 3, 5, 20, 51, 95, 122, 124.

<sup>1</sup> See Robles, *Ortología Clásica*, 89-90, for other examples.

## c) Hiatus destroyed by epenthetic consonants.

§ 97. We have observed *y* introduced to break hiatus § 68, and also cases where *y* has disappeared and left hiatus § 81. The consonants introduced to break hiatus in New Mexican Spanish are *g* and *y* (= *ɨ*).

1. *y* introduced: between *e* and *o*, when *e* is tonic and *eo* does not develop into *íó*, which may follow the rule even when *e* is tonic (see § 9 and § 83, 2), a semi-consonant *ɨ* is introduced in New Mexican Spanish to break hiatus: CREO > *creyo* or (*crɨó*), LEA > *lea*, *leya* or (*lɨa*), PÚA > *puya*, GRÚA > *gruya*, LEE > *leye* or *leyi*, *lei* (see § 68) VEA > *veya*, IDEA > *ideya*, *idɨa*, CAER > *cayer*, SEA > *seya*, TRAER > *trayer*.

This phenomenon was not rare in Old Spanish, and the instances recorded in literature may indicate a general tendency in the popular speech. Instances of epenthetic *y* to destroy hiatus in Old Spanish are: *Primera Crónica General*, DESNUDO > *desnuo* > *desnuyo* 14, 54; Lucas Fernández, *creyer* 130. Likewise *súo* > *suyo*, etc., see § 82, n. 2. In *creyo*, *trayo*, *cayo*, etc., frequent in the XVth and XVIth centuries, analogy of forms with a regularly developed *y* may have helped.<sup>1</sup>

2. *g* introduced: *g* is introduced to destroy hiatus between a vowel followed by *o*, *u*, *y* (= *ɨ*): YO Ó ÉL > *yo guél*, YO Ó TÚ > *yo go tu*, YO Y ÉL > *yo guiél*.<sup>2</sup> Compare Old Spanish *cadaguno*, etc.

In the modern dialects, the most common consonant introduced to break hiatus is *y*, especially in EE, EO, EA > *eye*, *eyo*, *eya*, found not only in New Mexican Spanish, but also in Bogotá,<sup>3</sup> Old Aragonese, Astorgas,<sup>4</sup> Asturias,<sup>5</sup> Judeo-Spanish.<sup>6</sup>

In classic Spanish, silent *h* was often placed between vowels to preserve a hiatus; cf. *Don Quixote* I, *ohí* 16, 32, *vehía* 93, 116, *ohían* 138, 139, *trahía* 149, 157, 163, 215, *cahía* 215. The same phenomenon is also found in Old Spanish (see 1. above).

<sup>1</sup> See M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 113 and Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 274.

<sup>2</sup> Not common except in Santa Fé.

<sup>3</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 274.

<sup>4</sup> M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 68.

<sup>5</sup> Munthe, *Anteckningar*, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> Subak in *Zeitschrift* Vol. XXX, pp. 136, 178.

Chapter III. Consonants.

I. Consonant sounds.

§ 98. Table of New Mexican Spanish consonants.<sup>1</sup>

Explosives	voiced	[b]	[d]	[g]	[h]	[k]	[x]	Pharyngeals	
	voiceless	[p]	[t]	[k]	[χ]	[kʰ]			
	voiced	[f]							Linguals
	voiceless								
	voiced	[m]	[n]	[ɲ]					
	voiceless								
	voiced	[v]	[z]	[ʒ]	[ʎ]				
voiceless		[s]	[ʃ]	[ʝ]					
voiced							Labials		
voiceless									
voiced									
voiceless									
voiced									
voiceless									

Continuants

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed treatment of the Castilian consonants, see Araujo, *Fonet.*



## a) Labials.

§ 99. *b* and *v*. In New Mexican Spanish *b* and *v* represent a voiced bilabial explosive [b], when initial in a breath group or when they follow *m* or *n* (= *m*). In all other positions they represent a voiced bilabial fricative [v], often very weak and frequently disappearing when intervocalic.<sup>1</sup>

This New Mexican pronunciation of *b* and *v* is the same as the Castilian (cf. Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, pp. 39, 40 and Cuervo, *Apun-taciones*, § 726), and it is very probable that this is the pronunciation in all of Spanish America and in almost all of Spain.<sup>2</sup> Marden's statement<sup>3</sup> that in Mexico and Castile *b* and *v* have the sound of a bilabial fricative, with no mention of the explosive sound, is therefore incomplete.<sup>4</sup>

The labio-dental fricative *v* is unknown in New Mexican Spanish, which is additional proof that the same was unknown in the Spanish of the XVth and XVIth centuries.<sup>5</sup>

§ 100. *f*. *f* has, in New Mexican Spanish, two values, [f], [f]. When following *m* or *n* (which in this case usually disappears leaving a nasal sound) *f* has, as a rule, a labio-dental sound [f], approaching

*Kast.*, 34-68. A brief but scientific classification is also given by Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 35. The phonetic classifications and charts of Nyrop (*Manuel Phonétique*, p. 19), Passy (*Changements Phonétiques*, p. 89), Sievers (*Grundzüge der Phonetik*,<sup>5</sup> p. 147), Vianna (*Exposição*, pp. 31-42) and Araujo, were of the greatest use to me here.

<sup>1</sup> Consonant changes, silent consonants, vocalization, etc., are treated in subsequent chapters. For the sake of clearness and convenience, the usual general sounds are treated first and in a separate part.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Baist, *Gröber's Grundriss I*, pp. 885, 896.

<sup>3</sup> *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 26.

<sup>4</sup> Josselyn (*Études de phonétique espagnole*, pp. 39-40) indicates that in Castilian initial *b* may be different from initial *v*, but Araujo does not agree with him (*Fonet. Kast.*, p. 39), nor does Menéndez Pidal, who states (*Gram. Hist.*, § 37, 2) „Hoy la inicial de verde, viaje, se pronuncia igual que la de bayo, baño“. A partial study of the history of *b*, *v* (*u*), in Spanish, from the earliest monuments to the present time, handled in his usual erudite manner, is given by Cuervo in his „*Disquisiciones sobre antigua ortografía y pronunciación castellanas*“, in *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. II, Article I. For a discussion of the exact pronunciation of *b*, *v* (*u*), in Old Spanish see Araujo, *Gramática del Poema del Cid*, pp. 52, 56, 57. See also, Robles, *Ortología Clásica*, p. 58, and M. Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, § 34, 3.

<sup>5</sup> So foreign is this to New Mexican Spanish that an English labio-dental *v* never remains when passing into New Mexican Spanish, but changes to a bilabial fricative.

the English labio-dental *f* in *face*, but more loosely articulated. The same sound may also be given to *f* when emphatic in any position. In all other positions and particularly when intervocalic or when combined with the liquids *l*, *r*, in the groups *fl*, *fr*, it is accompanied by breathing, and the lips do not touch the teeth, the result being a voiced bilabial pharyngeal aspirate, [f̥]. (See also New Mexican Spanish *j*, which together with *j* < *f* = [x], a bilabial pharyngeal aspirate, but voiceless.)

This bilabial aspirate [f̥] is a preservation of an Old Spanish sound, *f* or *h* (< *f*). In fact, according to Baist (*Grundriss*, pp. 898, 899), a labio-dental *f* was foreign to the Iberians, Basques, etc., and the Old Spanish made of it a bilabial fricative, [v]. Baist, however, seems to indicate that *h* (< *f*) did not appear until the early part of the XIVth century, but the spoken language had probably made every initial Latin *f*, an *h* (aspirate as New Mexican Spanish [f̥], and voiced) since earliest times; in fact, we find *prohio* (PROFIO) in the *Reyes Magos*. From the end of the XVth century on, the orthography is *h* except before *-ue*, and in other rare cases. But this sound did not remain the same as the centuries rolled by. The division into two distinct sounds must be considered almost certain. Early Spanish, had no labio-dental *f*, and substituted for the Latin sound a bilabial fricative *v* (see Baist, above) or *h*. This *h*, I believe, was a voiced pharyngeal aspirate, which was also represented in Old Spanish by *f*.<sup>1</sup> In the course of time this sound undoubtedly became voiceless, for it was confused with the voiced *j* > voiceless *j* in nearly all the dialects, where finally, as in New Mexican Spanish *f* > *h* > *j* = *x*, *j* = a voiceless pharyngeal aspirate [x]. On the other hand, the early voiced aspirate *h* became in some regions very weak, which caused initial *h* to be finally banished from the literary language. But the people adhered to the traditional aspirate *h* < *f*, and although they ultimately confused this aspirate *h* with the voiceless *j*, which developed from a voiced *j*, and although in the modern dialects of Spain and America *juerte* and *dijo* have the same voiceless *j*, yet the old pure voiced bilabial pharyngeal aspirated *f* [f̥], found according to Araujo in the *Poema del Cid*, is still preserved in the dialects.<sup>2</sup> (For the changes of *f* > [x], see § 121.)

§ 101. *m*. *m* in New Mexican Spanish, as in Castilian represents a voiced bilabial nasal, [m]. For silent *m*, leaving a nasal vowel, see §§ 20-30. For syllabic [m̩], see Syllabic Consonants.

<sup>1</sup> See Araujo, *Gramática del Poema del Cid*, pp. 54, 55. Araujo also believes that Old Spanish *f* or *h* < *f* was an aspirate which later developed to the voiceless *h* or *j* of many Spanish regions. Compare also the statement of Villalón (1558), Viñaza, col. 1114, „*La F en el Castellano el mesmo sonido y pronunçiaçion tiene que la aspiraçion h*“.

<sup>2</sup> This [f̥] is found not only in New Mexican Spanish but also in Chile (Lenz, *Phonetische Studien* II, p. 26). Cuervo (*Apuntaciones*, § 756) also is of the opinion that the Spanish dialects of all regions have confused all the Spanish aspirate sounds into a modern voiceless *j*, and Menéndez Pidal speaks of the same phenomenon in the case of *f*, *h*, *x* > *j*, as taking place in Santander, Salamanca, Asturias (East), Extremadura, Andalusia, America (*Gram. Hist.*, § 38, 2).

§ 102. *p*. *p* represents in New Mexican Spanish as in Castilian a voiceless bilabial explosive, [p]. It is well to state, however, that when intervocalic and unemphatic, it is often produced in the inner parts of the lips and these touch very slightly.

§ 103. *u*. When *o* or *u* stands immediately before a vowel, it loses its vowel quality and becomes a bilabial pharyngeal voiced fricative, [u̠], resembling the English *w* in *water* (see also §§ 17, 83, 84).<sup>1</sup>

#### b) Linguals.

§ 104. *d*. *d* has, in New Mexican Spanish two values. When initial in a breath group, when emphatic, or when immediately after *n* or *l*, it is an alveolo-dental voiced explosive, [d]: CALDO > [kaldɔ], DONDE > [d̄:dē]. DAME > [damē]. In all other positions *d* has usually the value of an apico-dental voiced fricative [d̄]. Here the tongue is very frequently only a modifier, not touching the teeth, and the *d* may then disappear entirely, see § 180: PADRE > [paðrē], CADA > [kaðā].

The rules for the Castilian pronunciation of *d* as given by Araujo (*Fonet. Kast.*, pp. 44-45) do not differ much from my observations on New Mexican Spanish. Araujo, however, extends the explosive pronunciation also to *d* after *s*. This presents in New Mexican Spanish a special case, *s* + *d* > [z] in all positions. The combination of the denti-alveolar voiceless *s* with the voiced fricative *d* gives [z], a denti-alveolar voiced fricative: DESDE > [dēzē], LOS DOS > [lōzɔs], ES DE ÉL > [ēzēl]. In some cases this [z] has become voiceless, [s]: QUE ES DE > *quese*,<sup>2</sup> DESDE > [deze] or *dese*.

<sup>1</sup> This sound is also found in Castilian *u* when before *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*. See Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> This curious New Mexican Spanish form, treated by Hills (*New Mexican Spanish*, p. 44) is an interesting case of generalization of usage. It is almost the exclusive form used for „where is where are?“ It is equivalent, to „¿dónde es, son, está or están? ¿Quese Juan? ¿Quese mis guantes? ¿Ques' ellos?“. Hills has erroneously supposed, *quese* < QUE SE HIZO DE, an impossible phonetic development. QUE SE HIZO DE becomes *que si s̄ȳe* in New Mexican Spanish. QUE ES DE > *quesde* > *queze* > *quese*, is the only explanation admissible. In fact, one may hear in Northern Mexico the intermediate form, *queze*. *Que es de* = *donde está*, etc., occurs in Spanish literature; cf. Lope de Rueda, *Obras*, p. 43, „Mire vuesa merced, el ha de venir agora á comer, vuesa merced se meterá debajo desta manta, y en venir luego preguntará, ¿ques del señor Licenciado?“. Cf. also Mingo Revulgo (Ford, *Spanish Anthology*, p. 32), „¿Ques de tu sayo de blao?“, Juan Álvarez Gato (Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ant. poet. lir. cast.*, p. 121), „¿Qu' es

§ 105. *ch*. *ch* has remained in New Mexican Spanish, as in Castilian, an alveolar voiceless explosive, [ç]. In rapid speech and when unemphatic, however, it may become weak, being produced with less muscular tension, which causes the tongue to leave the alveolar region and assume a prepalatal position, resulting almost in a weak voiced alveolar, [ʒ]. This, however, is not a general rule in New Mexico, but seems to be limited to the districts south of Albuquerque.

§ 106. *l* and *ll*. *l* is in New Mexican Spanish a denti-alveolar voiced lateral fricative, the same as the modern Castilian *l*. For syllabic [l̥], see syllabic consonants § 167.

*ll* when initial is usually *ʎ*, in other positions it may fall entirely or remain as *ʎ*. For a complete study of *ll* and its values in New Mexican Spanish, see §§ 156, 157.

§ 107. *n*. *n* has in New Mexican Spanish two values. When immediately before a palatal, pharyngeal or velar consonant, *g*, *k*, *g*, *k*, *x*, it has the value of a voiced nasal velar, [ɲ], resembling very much the *n* of English *anger*: TENGO > [tɛɲgo] also [tɛ:gɔ] EN CARRO > [ɛɲkaɾo]. In all other positions *n* has the value of a denti-alveolar voiced nasal, [n]. In Castilian *n* has practically these same sounds.<sup>1</sup> For the fall of *n*, leaving a nasal vowel, see §§ 20-28.

Before the labial consonants *b*, *p*, *v*, *u* or [f], *n* > *m* (see also § 101): UN VASO > *um basɔ*, UN BOTE > *um bote*, EN PAZ > *em pas*, UN HUESO > *um bueso*, ENFERMO > *emfermo* or *enfermo*. This *m* is usually very indistinct, see § 20. For a full discussion of *um buevo* < UN HUEVO, see § 124.

§ 108. *ñ*. *ñ* is in New Mexican Spanish as in Castilian a dorso-linguo-prepalatal voiced nasal, [ɲ̃]. For the fall of intervocalic *ñ* leaving a nasal vowel, see § 29, 1. For GN, NI > *ñ*, see §§ 128, 150.

§ 109. *ɣ*. This voiced palatal fricative, resembling the English *y* in *yes*, *you*, etc., is the sound of New Mexican *y* when initial in a syllable, *i* when atonic before *a*, *e*, *o*, *u*, *ll* (see § 106 and §§ 158, 159), or *e* in hiatus before *a*, *o*, *u* (see § 83). As to the fine distinctions which Araujo finds in the Castilian between the voiced *ɣ* of *limpiar*, *cuestión*, etc., and a supposed voiceless *ɣ* in *ayer*, *ya*, etc. (see pp. 18, 19 and 55), I must say I fail to find them in New Mexico. My rule, as given above, covers all cases of *y*, (*ll* > *y*), *i*, (*e* > *i*), and all these

*de los grandes amigos?*" . . . "¿Qu'es de la gran fortaleza . . . ?". I shall treat more fully of this interesting construction in a separate article.

<sup>1</sup> See Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, pp. 50, 60, 61. See also § 27, Note 1.

> *j* as stated already. In New Mexican Spanish the consonant in question is in all cases voiced. For the complete assimilation of *j*, with a preceding *s*, and other changes see §§ 162, 163.

§ 110. *r*. New Mexican Spanish *r* has four values: [r], [r̄], [r̄̄], [r̄̄̄].

1. [r]: When *r* is intervocalic or final in a syllable, it is a weak voiced apico-linguo-alveolar trill [r]. It then approaches the western American English final *r*, but the tongue is not arched upward and backward, as is often the case with the American sound.

2. [r̄]: When initial, doubled, final in a word, especially in the infinitives and other oxytones, or when after *g*, *l*, *n*, *s*, it is a voiced dorso-linguo-lateral alveolar fricative, [r̄]. The position of the tongue moves backward, and the tip is arched upward from the *r* position, touching only the uppermost edges of the gingivae and causing a series of very rapid vibrations. It is a sound midway between [r] and [z]. This sound is general in the positions indicated, everywhere in the territory studied, excepting Southern Colorado where it is [r̄̄] (see 4) in all positions but the final, which is simple [r].

3. [r̄̄]: In the groups *ndr*, *mbr*, *br*, *sr*, *tr*, *pr*, the *r* is [r] but in all New Mexico it is usually accompanied by breathing, the result being a voiceless aspirated alveolar fricative [r̄̄]. This *r* resembles the English *r* of *tree*, but the breathing is more pronounced. It is also to be observed that the preceding consonant in these groups is partially assimilated to the *r* (see DR > [r̄̄], § 148).<sup>1</sup> In southern Colorado, *r* in the above groups is simple [r].

4. [r̄̄̄]: In southern Colorado, initial or doubled *r* is not [r̄̄], but a sharp alveolar trill, with a series of rough vibrations, not unlike German trilled *r*. Cf. also 2 and 3.

§ 111. *c* (before *e*, *i*), *s*, *z*.<sup>3</sup> 1. In New Mexican Spanish, as in all of Spanish America from Colorado to Argentine, in Andalusia and other Spanish provinces, and in Jewish Spanish,<sup>2</sup> *c* (before *e*, *i*),

<sup>1</sup> This voiceless aspirated alveolar *r* may be the prepalatal fricative found in Ecuador, Perú, Chile, Argentine: see Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 35, 4. This same sound, however, is not found in the same positions as in New Mexican Spanish, since in Chile *r* is a simple *r* in the groups *br*, *pr*, *kr*, *dr*; see Lenz, *Chilenische Studien* I, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> As in other cases, general rules are first given, then less general phenomena are observed. The changes of *s* < *c*, *s*, *z* to [x] and *s* + *i* to [š], [ž], are treated under Consonant Changes, §§ 153, 154, 155, 161.

<sup>3</sup> See Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 762; Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 37; Ramsay, *Textbook of Modern Spanish*, p. 6; Lenz, *Chilenische Studien* II, p. 24 (Lenz says, *z*, *c* (*e*, *i*) > *s* in Andalusia and Estremadura); Subak, *Zum Juden-Spanischen*, in *Zeitschrift* XXX, pp. 151, 162.

*z*, *s*, represent, as a rule, a simple *s*; that is, a denti-alveolar voiceless fricative, essentially the same as the Castilian Spanish *s* as described by Araujo, (*Fonet. Kast.*, pp. 54-55).

2. This *s* < *c*, *s*, *z*, may in all positions become, in New Mexican Spanish, a very weak pharyngeal aspirate [x], which will be represented by [h]. When intervocalic it is practically [x], otherwise [h], or entirely silent, especially final before some consonants. This matter is discussed more fully under Consonant Changes §§ 153, 154.

3. *s* and *z* when before a voiced consonant may also become voiced [z]: MESMO > *mezmo*, or *mehmo*; ES BUENO > *ez bueno*. For *sd* > *z* or also *s*, see § 104, note 1.

§ 112. As to the date of the change of *z*, *c* (*e*, *i*) to *s*, it seems to be practically agreed that the development of these sounds to the simple voiceless *s* did not take place in America but, was well under way in Spain at the time of colonization.

This is the opinion of Cuervo (*Apuntaciones*, § 762) and of Marden (*Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, p. 32). Generally speaking, this view is correct. I would add, however, that in my opinion, the change occurred in some parts of Spain in the last half of the XVth century or probably earlier. No particular stress need be laid on the confusion of *s*, *c*, *z*, etc., in orthography, and I will even grant that Baist is correct in saying that the confusion of *s* and *z* has been often incorrectly assumed (see Marden, ut supra p. 31). Still, there was a confusion of *s* and *z* probably as early as that of *ç* and *z*. Valdés speaks of it (*Mayans y Siscar*, p. 72), and it is attested in literature.<sup>1</sup> But we do not need to go only to the grammarians and to the Old Spanish literature. The results of all these investigations show that confusion existed from the XVIth century on, at least between *c* and *z*, and between *z* and *s*.<sup>2</sup> But what do the modern dialects prove? They prove that the confusion is much older than the grammarians tell us, and that the new pronunciation was a fixed one in many Spanish regions. As we have said, *c* (*i*, *e*), *z* > *s* in all of Spanish America, in Andalusia, Extremadura, etc. and also in the Jewish Spanish of the Balkan Peninsula. The immigration from Spain to these Spanish American and Balkan regions commenced in the beginning of the XVIth century, and by that time the settlers had a fixed pronunciation, because if there had been differences, they would exist to-day, or at least, traces of them. In Castile and in some western and northern provinces the old *ç*, *z* > the modern Castilian *z*, or changed in other directions, as in parts of Extremadura and Salamanca, where *z*, *ç* > *d* (a modern Castilian *z*, but voiced).<sup>3</sup> The fact, then, that in all the Spanish countries which began to be settled in the early part of the XVIth century, *c* (*e*, *i*), *z* became *s*, with no traces of other sounds, is positive proof that the people who settled

<sup>1</sup> *s* and *z* are found in rhymes in Juan de la Cueva, Luis Barabona de Soto (1548-1595), Alvarez Gato, etc. See Cuervo, ut supra, § 762. The Spanish Americans, of course, rhymed them from earliest times.

<sup>2</sup> See Bello-Cuervo, *Gramática Castellana*, Notas, pp. 19-20. Gonzalo Correas, *Arte Grande de la Lengua Castellana*, p. 25, says, however, that *z* and *c* had only one sound in 1626.

<sup>3</sup> See Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, § 11.

these regions, pronounced only *s*, and if they did so, it was not for them a recent change that took place suddenly on the eve of their departure. We are obliged, therefore, to place the date of this change in Spain in the last half of the XVth century.<sup>1</sup>

§ 113. *t*. *t* is in New Mexican Spanish an alveolo-dental voiceless explosive, not differing essentially from the Castilian pronunciation as described by Araujo.<sup>2</sup>

### c) Velars.

§ 114. *g*. New Mexican Spanish *g* has four values: [g], [g̃], [ḡ], [x]. 1. When initial in a breath group, when after a nasal consonant, i. e. velar [ŋ], when very emphatic in any position, and in all of these cases before *a*, *o*, *u*, it has the value of a voiced post-palatal or velar explosive [g], the same as the explosive Castilian *g* described by Araujo.<sup>3</sup>

2. When before the front vowels *e*, *i*, in the syllables, *gue*, *gui*, and at the same time initial in a breath group or after a nasal consonant, as in 1, it becomes prepalatal [g̃], as English *g* in *geese*.

3. When not initial in a breath group or after a nasal consonant and not immediately before *e* or *i*, *g* has more frequently the value of a voiced velar fricative [ḡ], not unlike a weak Parisian velar *r*.<sup>4</sup>

4. When immediately before *e* or *i*, the *g* has, in New Mexico, the sound of New Mexican Spanish *j*, i. e., a voiceless pharyngeal aspirate [x], see § 116, below.

§ 115. *c*, *q*. When before *a*, *o*, *u*, New Mexican Spanish *c* has the value of a voiceless velar explosive [k], as in standard Castilian. It must be observed that it is produced a little farther back than the English *c* of *car*. *C* (*e*, *i*) has been discussed in § 111. In *que*, *qui*, the *k* sound is a prepalatal [k̃], as in English *keep*. Though not general enough to be classed as a separate variety, there is at times heard in New Mexico a partly voiced *k* in *que*, *qui*, which approaches the voiced explosive [g].

<sup>1</sup> See also Cuervo, *Disquisiciones* I, pp. 20-50, and Espinosa, *Los Comanches*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Fonet. Kast.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>3</sup> *Fonet. Kast.*, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, p. 57, 1, corrects Passy's statement in *Changements Phonétiques*, p. 261, with respect to the latter's misunderstanding about the Spanish fricative *g*, and a good description of the same is given. It is the same as the New Mexican sound in question, but Araujo does not give the exact conditions when the Castilian *g* is fricative. The New Mexican Spanish fricative *g* is very weak, and it often disappears, see § 181.

1.  $k + s < c + c$  ACCIÓN etc.), or Spanish  $x (= ks)$ ,  $> s$  in New Mexican Spanish: EXPERTO  $>$  *esperto*, SEXTO  $>$  *sesto*, ACCIÓN  $>$  *asión*, etc. This is not a new change in New Mexican Spanish. Latin  $x (= ks) > ss$  or  $s$ , is an old law in Vulgar Latin and in Old Spanish,<sup>1</sup> and it exists to-day in Castilian in the prefix *ex*, and in many other words, and it occurs in most of the dialects.<sup>2</sup>

For  $c + c > s$ , see Silent Consonants, § 179.

#### d) Pharyngeals.

§ 116. *j*. New Mexican Spanish *j* differs from the modern Castilian sound in that it is a voiceless pharyngeal aspirate [x], while the Castilian is said to be voiced. If in the XVth and XVIth centuries  $x (= [\text{š}])$  and  $j (= [\text{ž}])$  were blended into one sound, probably [š] (still preserved in Asturian<sup>3</sup> and Judeo-Spanish),<sup>4</sup> with a gradual falling of the tongue to a flat position and its removal from the alveoles, the weak pharyngeal which accompanied the original [š] or even the [ž] alone remains. This is the source of the weak New Mexican Spanish pharyngeal *j*, [x], preserved from the XVIth century, and the modern Castilian voiced velar *j* is in my opinion a further development of this. A process similar to this may also explain New Mexican Spanish  $s < c$ ,  $s, z > [h]$ ; see § 153.

§ 117. *h*. *h* is silent in many words, the old aspiration having disappeared as in Castilian, but the aspiration is preserved as a rule when initial (and also in other positions) and in all cases when the *h* was from Latin *f*. Initial Latin *F*  $>$  Old Spanish aspirate *f* with but few exceptions<sup>5</sup> (probably in all regions except Asturias, where *f* has persisted to the present day) became, in the XVIth century, an aspirate *h* as the American English *h* of *house*, and the same as the New Mexican Spanish *j* [x] (see also § 100f.). This aspirate *h* was confused then with *j* (which seems to have the voiced quality only

<sup>1</sup> See Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 255, and Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 51, 2. The Spanish of the XVIIth century and earlier, more phonetic than the modern in some respects, wrote *s* for  $ks < x$  (or  $cc$ ), e. g., Lucas Fernández, 114; *Corvacho*, 38, 81, 218; Juan del Encina, 32, 205, 211; Sanchez de Badajoz, 197, 321; Torres Naharro, 150; Mira de Mesqua, 40, 56; Fray Luis de León, 132.

<sup>2</sup> See Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, p. 7; Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 817; Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, p. 43; Baist, *Grundriss I*, 885.

<sup>3</sup> See M. Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, § 10.

<sup>4</sup> See Wiener, *Mod. Phil.* I, 4.

<sup>5</sup> See § 100 and M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 38.



in Castilian) in nearly all of Spain and America. For Latin *f* > Old Spanish *h*, preserved in New Mexican Spanish see Consonant Changes § 121.

In the group *hue*, where the *h* is prosthetic or epenthetic in Spanish,<sup>1</sup> *h* has in New Mexico, as a rule, the sound of New Mexican Spanish *g*; i. e. [g] or [g̃]; see § 114.

## II. Consonant changes.

### a) Initial consonants.

§ 118. BUE-, VUE- > *güe-* ([g] or [g̃]).<sup>2</sup> 1. The initial groups BUE-, VUE- become *güe-* in all words in New Mexican Spanish: *güeno*, *güey*, *güelta*, *güelva*, etc.<sup>3</sup>

This change is not difficult to explain. The initial *b* or *v* becomes weakened on account of the *w* (*u*) + the tonic *e* following. Having been once weakened to a bilabial fricative [v], it is easily assimilated to the bilabial velar *u* following. When the velar *u* which had already the elements of a *g* (i. e., a velar quality), is left in the initial position before the tonic vowel, its velar element is further strengthened by a complete change of the place of articulation from the lips to the velum and tongue, and the initial labial element being also destroyed by the necessity of opening the mouth before the *e*, a velar *g* is the result. (See also medial -*b*- > -*g*-, and HUE- > *güe-*, §§ 123, 130, and English *w*- > New Mexican Spanish *gu-*, § 245, where this same process of development takes place, and see also the contrary change in *g*- > *b*-, § 124).

2. By analogy to the forms *güelva*, *güelta*, etc., the forms without the *ue* also have this change: *golver*, *golar* (rare), *golteur*.

3. The analogy is less clear in *gomitar*, *gulto* < (BULTO), but I do not see how the simple labial *u* or *o* can bring about the change, as Cuervo believes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Pietsch, *The Sp. Particle He* (*Mod. Phil.* II, 198, note 3).

<sup>2</sup> In this section, except where the phonetic alphabet is absolutely necessary, the standard Spanish Alphabet will be used, and the reader is referred to Section I of this chapter for the exact quality of the sound in question, when in doubt. The exact phonetic representation here would necessitate many useless repetitions. *g* here, for instance, may be [g] or [g̃]; UN BUEN > [ũ:g̃ɛn] but, QUE BUENO > [kɛg̃ɛno], etc.

<sup>3</sup> In *Los Comanches* (ed. Espinosa), p. 30, a New Mexican MS. of the early XIXth century, VUESA MERCED > *huesa merced*. The *h* here represents the [g̃], as in *huevo*, etc., see § 123.

<sup>4</sup> *Apuntaciones*, § 781.

The intermediate development  $\text{VUE-}, \text{BUE-} > \text{ye-}$ , which Marden<sup>1</sup> believes to be the usual modern development of Mexico City, and is also found in Chile, is also found in New Mexico, but it is the exception rather than the rule. The development of  $\text{ye-} < \text{BUE-}, \text{VUE-} > \text{gie-}$  is analogous to the development of Germanic<sup>2</sup> and Arabic  $\text{w}$  into  $\text{gu} > \text{g}$ , in Spanish; cf.  $\text{WERRA} > * \text{gierra} > \text{guerra}$ ,  $\text{WANT} > \text{guante}$ ,  $\text{WARJAN} > \text{guarir}$ , etc. Germanic  $\text{w}$  also became  $\text{gu} > \text{g}$ , in Old French, Provençal and Italian (Nyrop I, § 454) and English  $\text{w}$  gives  $\text{gu}$  in New Mexican Spanish, see § 245.

The change  $\text{BUE-}, \text{VUE-} > \text{gie-}$  is also found in Mexico, Bogotá, Costa Rica, Buenos Ayres, Argentine, Uruguay,<sup>3</sup> Aragón,<sup>4</sup> Andalusia,<sup>5</sup> Asturias,<sup>6</sup> Santander.<sup>7</sup> The development  $\text{BO-}, \text{VO-} > \text{go-}$  is less frequent, though found also in nearly all the above named regions. The change here points to a weak fricative  $\text{b}$  or  $\text{v}$ , which developed to an  $\text{y}$  with its velar element before changing to  $\text{go}$ .<sup>8</sup>

§ 119. Sporadic changes of initial  $\text{b}$ . 1.  $\text{B-} > \text{j-}$ :  $\text{BOATO} > \text{jyato}$ .  
2.  $\text{B-} > \text{m-}$ :  $\text{BERMEJO} > \text{mermejo}$ ;  $\text{BANANA} > \text{manana}$ ;  $\text{BOÑIGA} > \text{muñiga}$ ;  $\text{BETAVEL} > \text{metabel}$  (Albuquerque only). The first two are changes due, perhaps to regressive assimilation of the nasal consonant. See also § 131  $\text{-B-} > \text{-m-}$ .

§ 120.  $\text{D-} > \text{l-}$ .  $\text{DÁTIL} > \text{látir}$ ;  $\text{DEONICIO} > \text{Lionisio}, \text{Lonisio}$ ,  $\text{EDUARDO} > (\text{Duardo}), \text{Luardo}$ . The change here is from dental to alveolar, only a partial change in the place of articulation, in  $\text{DÁTIL} > \text{látir}$  by assimilation to the final  $\text{l}$  (which in turn is dissimilated to  $\text{r}$ ), in  $(\text{E})\text{DUARDO} > \text{Luardo}$  by dissimilation. Compare Latin  $\text{lácrima} < \text{DĀCRUMA}$ , and medial  $\text{-D-} > \text{-l-}$ . See § 134 and compare Old Spanish *lexar* (*dejar*), etc. (cf. Baist, *Grundriss*, p. 897).

§ 121.  $\text{F-} > \text{j-}$ ,  $[\text{x}]$ . We have already treated New Mexican Spanish bilabial aspirate  $\text{f}$  (§ 100) and have said that it is probably

<sup>1</sup> *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 27.

<sup>2</sup> The Romance Languages generally developed  $\text{gy-}$  or  $\text{g-}$  from Germanic  $\text{y} < \text{Indo-European } \text{y}$ , but in Germanic itself, it remained  $\text{y}$ , and later became a spirant,  $\text{w}$  or  $\text{v}$ , see Brugmann, *Abrégé de Gram. Comp.*, § 159, and §§ 123, 130, 137.

<sup>3</sup> Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Cancionero pop. Turolense*, 430, 524.

<sup>5</sup> Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, 312.

<sup>6</sup> Munthe, *Anteckningar*, 35, 36.

<sup>7</sup> Mugica, *Dial. Cast.*, 12.

<sup>8</sup> Meyer-Lübke I, § 416. I doubt whether *gomitar* is due to analogy with *gormar*, as Meyer-Lübke states.

the preservation of an Old Spanish aspirate *f*, since a labio-dental *f* was foreign to Spanish. But that early aspirate *f*, when initial quickly developed to aspirate *h* in Old Spanish, excepting before *ue* and in a few other rare cases, and in all the dialects with the exception of Galician, Alto Aragón and western Asturias (Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 38, 2). This almost universal change of  $\text{F} > h$  took place in the spoken language, probably as early as the XIIIth century (§ 100), though the first development may have been a very weak *h*, which reached its full development, a voiceless pharyngeal aspirate (= New Mexican Spanish *j*, initial *f* and  $h < \text{F}$ ), by the end of the XVth century.<sup>1</sup> The literary language wavered between *f* and *h* for more than two centuries, but by the beginning of the XVIth century (Nebrija), *h* prevails in all cases, except, before *ue* and in a few rare cases before *ie*, in the group *fr-*, etc. The spoken language, however, pronounced *h* also before *ue* and in some cases before *ie* and in the group *fr-*, and this aspirate *h* lives to-day, not only in New Mexican Spanish, but in all the dialects of Spanish America<sup>2</sup> and Spain, except western Asturias,<sup>3</sup> High Aragón and Galicia (see Menéndez Pidal, quoted below). Whether it is identical in all regions with *j* (a voiceless aspirate) is yet to be learned. In New Mexican Spanish *f* and  $h < \text{F}$  become [x]. M. Pidal (*Gram. Hist.*, § 38) states that this is true also in Santander, east Asturias, Salamanca, Extremadura, Andalusia, America. A notable exception must be made in New Mexican Spanish for *f* before *a*; the group *fa-* is as in Castilian, *fa-*. See medial -*f*- and -*h*-  $>$  [x], §§ 136, 139.

Examples of initial  $\text{F} > j$ - [x] in New Mexican Spanish are *juí*, *jué*, *juersa*, *jogón*, *juego*, *Jelipe*, *juerte*, *julano*, *Jilomena*. For the contrary change  $j > f$  in New Mexican Spanish, see § 129, 2.

§ 122.  $\text{H} > j$ -. Initial XVIth century Spanish *h*, which was the voiceless aspirate [x] developed from initial Latin *f* (see §§ 100, 121 and also medial -*h*-  $>$  -*j*-, § 139), has been preserved in New Mexican Spanish in a large number of words, pronounced like the New Mexican Spanish *j*. Examples: *jayar*, *jervir*, *juir*, *joyo*, *juca*

<sup>1</sup> Juan del Encina and Lucas Fernández, who wrote in the language of the vulgar folk of Salamanca, wrote *h* for *f*, the aspirate, even before *ue*, converted often into *hu*: Lucas Fernández, *Farsas y Eglogas*, *huego* 3, 44; *hu* (*fué*) 7, 29, 56, 73, 131; *huerte* 43, 53, 140; Juan del Encina, *hu* 18.

<sup>2</sup> See Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 756; Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 29.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed study of the exact lines of division between initial  $\text{F} > f$  or *j* in the western and northern provinces, see Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, § 8.

< (HUELLA), *jigado, jalar, jurtar, jongo, jondo, jiel, jilar, jumo, josco, jeder, jijo*.<sup>1</sup> This XVIIth century pronunciation exists in Mexico, Ecuador, Buenos Aires, Chile, Costa Rica, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands,<sup>2</sup> Bogotá,<sup>3</sup> Salamanca, East Asturias, Extremadura, Andalusia.<sup>4</sup> In Asturias (west), Galicia, and High Aragón, initial Latin *f-* did not change to *h-*, but remained an *f*.<sup>5</sup>

§ 123. HUE- > *güe*-. This phenomenon has taken place, as a rule, in *hue* < *ue* < Latin tonic *ō-*, when the initial Latin tonic *ō*-developed into *ue-*, the *u* probably soon became *ɥ*,<sup>6</sup> i. e., a bilabial velar, which, to be strengthened in the initial position, had to develop its velar element, as explained in § 118, and a velar *g* was reached. This development is also the same as Germanic *w-* > *gɥ*, BUE-, VUE- > *ue-* > *güe-*, § 118. Examples: *güevo, güespede, güeso, güerfano, güero, güeco, güerta*. See also medial -HUE- > -*güe-*, § 140. In rare cases HUE- > *güe* > *bue*; *bueso, buevo* (see GU- > *bu-*, § 124, below). HUE- > *güe-* is found in the vulgar speech of Bogotá,<sup>7</sup> Andalusia,<sup>8</sup> Cuba,<sup>9</sup> Santander,<sup>10</sup> Aragón,<sup>11</sup> Mexico.<sup>12</sup>

The development of HUE- < Latin *ō-* to *güe-* is an old one, dating, perhaps, from the XVth century or earlier, since it was a well developed phenomenon in Spain by the beginning of the XVIth century, when Valdés wrote (1535).<sup>13</sup>

§ 124. G- > *b-*. Initial *g-* has developed to *b-* before *u* and *ue*, probably by being weakened and through the influence of the labial

<sup>1</sup> Only in exclamations, otherwise *ijo* (< HIJO).

<sup>2</sup> Marden, *The Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 756.

<sup>4</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 38, 2.

<sup>5</sup> In *Cantas Baturras* (Aragón), however, I find *jut* 27, 29; *juera* 29, 100; *juerza* 32; *jué* 39, 58.

<sup>6</sup> As we have already said, the tendency of *ɥ* to become *gɥ* is a well known phenomenon. A New Mexican child, learning English, says *guatar* < (WATER), *güel* < (WELL), *güi* < (WE), *guant* < (WANT), etc. See also Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, p. 41, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 748.

<sup>8</sup> *Cantas Flamencos* (Machado y Álvarez), 31, 63, 64, 104, 115, 116, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Esteban Pichardo, 188.

<sup>10</sup> Mugica, *Dial. Cast.*, 19.

<sup>11</sup> *Can. Pop. Turolense*, 42, 275, 524.

<sup>12</sup> Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> *Dialogo Lengua* (ed. Boehmer, 372); cf. also Gonzalo Correas (1626), *Arte grande*, p. 27, „*A estotros ponemos g para decillos con mas descanso; güele, güevo, güerta, güiso*“.

element following it: GORREÓN > *burrión* (only in St. Fê); HUESO > *güeso* > *bueso*, HUEVO > *güevo* > *buevo*, GULA > *bula*.<sup>1</sup> The change is more frequent when *g* is medial, see § 137.

See also the contrary change *b-* > *g-* § 118.

§ 125. *n-* > *d-*. Initial *n-* has in some words developed to *d-*, probably by a dissimilation of the nasal elements, the place of articulation undergoing practically no change: NEMECIO > *Demésio*; NO MÁS > *domás*. Compare with this the evident dissimilation in *denguno* < NINGUNO, a form occurring in Andalusia and Asturias (Meyer-Lübke I, § 573).

§ 126. *n-* > *l-*. NOS (obj. pron.) > *los*; NOSOTROS > *losotros*, *lojotros*. These are the common forms among the ignorant classes everywhere in New Mexico. In Colorado LOS > *nos* is rare. There seems to be no phonetic reason for the change, and we are obliged to begin with NOS > *los* as a case of analogy to the numerous pronouns *lo*, *la*, *los*, *les*, *las*, etc., (+ the influence of the articles?). *Losotros* may be also due to direct analogy to these pronouns, or a later development, and due to direct analogy to *los* < NOS. That the pronouns exercise direct influence on each other, there can be no doubt; compare the Aragonese forms *mos*, *mus* < NOS, from analogy to *me* (*mi*, *mo*?). For medial *-n-* > *-l-*, see § 145, 5.

§ 127. *n-* > *ñ-*. The New Mexican forms with initial *n-* > *ñ-* are very few and are probably words of north-western Spanish origin. Even as far south as Salamanca the change of initial *n-* > *ñ-* was a wide-spread practice among the rural classes after the XVIth century.<sup>2</sup> Examples: *ñublina*,<sup>3</sup> *ñudo*,<sup>3</sup> *ñublarse*,<sup>3</sup> *ñegar*, *ñuera*, *ñegro*. In *ñiño*, there is assimilation to the medial *ñ*. This is a common phenomenon in parts of Asturias, León and Sayago (M. Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, p. 33. See NI- > *ñ-*, § 128 and -GN- > *ñ-*, also common in Lucas Fernández, § 149.

§ 128. NI- (*n̄*) > *ñ-*. Initial NI-, when followed by a vowel (also medial NI-, see § 150), has developed in New Mexico to *ñ-* in all cases (except when *i* is tonic, as in *tenía*, where *ni* may remain

<sup>1</sup> See my edition of *Los Comanches*, p. 4. *Buevo* and *bueso* are usually found after a labial *m*, which may also exercise an influence, *um buevo*, *um bueso*, etc. These two and also *buerto* < (HUERTO) are found in Vizcaya, Mugica, *Dial. Cast.*, § 69.

<sup>2</sup> Lucas Fernández, initial *n-* > *ñ-*: *ño* 3, 8, 12, 24, 65, 70, etc.; *ños* 16, 63, 128, etc.; *ñunca* 4, 7, 64, etc.; *ñoramala* 20, 70, 108, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Also, Old Spanish, Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 739.

unchanged): NIEVE > *ñeve*, NI ESO > *ñeso*, NI UNO > *ñuno*, NIETO > *ñeto*, NERVIO, > *niervo* > *ñervo*, NIEGO > *ñega*, etc. By analogy to the forms NIEGA > *ñega*, NIEVE > *ñeve*, one hears also *ñevar*, *ñegar*, *ñego*, etc.

The palatalization of *nj* in Latin became a general law in the early empire,<sup>1</sup> and is a regular development in the changes from Latin into Spanish.<sup>2</sup> For the occurrence of initial and medial NI- > *ñ* in Spain, etc., see medial-NI- > *ñ*, § 150.

§ 129. Sporadic developments of other initial consonants and consonant groups.

1. c- > g-: COGOTE > *gogote* (by assimilation to the medial *g*?).
2. j- > f-: JUAN > *Fuan*, JUEZ > *fues*.<sup>3</sup>

Is there here an influence of *fué*, *fuego*, *fuerza*, *fuleron*, etc. which the people see written instead of their popular forms *jué*, *juego*, *juerza*, *jueron*, etc.?

3. j- > g-: GIRAFA > *guirafa*, GILBERTO > *Guilberto* (English influence?).
4. s- > -ch: SINSONTE > *chinchonte*.
5. cl- > cr-: CLEOTILDE > *Crotilde* (Dissimulation).

#### b) Medial consonants.

§ 130. -b-, -v- > -g-. Just as initial BUE-, VUE- > *güe* (§ 118), and for the same reasons medial -BUE-, -VUE- > *güe*: ABUELO > *agüelo*, ENVOLVE > *engüelve*, REVUELTO > *regüelto*, etc. In the same manner also, and by extension, REVOLVER > *regolver*, DEVOLVER > *degolver*. These phenomena, though less frequent, are found also in all the regions where initial BUE-, VUE- become *güe*, etc. See § 118, end.

In *abuelo*, found in *Corvacho*, Lucas Fernández, etc. (see Pietsch, *The Spanish Particle He*, p. 2, n. 3 and Espinosa, *Los Comanches*, p. 42) the *h*, like the *h* of *huesa merced*, found in *Los Comanches*, may be a fricative [g], as the *h* of the popular forms *hueco*, *huevo*, etc., see § 123. As is the case with initial *bue-*, *vue-*, so medial -*bue-*, -*vue-* seldom remain in the intermediate stage *ue*, which Marden finds in Mexico.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 274.

<sup>2</sup> See Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 53, 5.

<sup>3</sup> MS. of *Persecución de Jesús*, pp. 1, 23, 40. This change occurs also in Bogotá, in *fe* < JEFE, *fustillo* < JUSTILLO, etc., and Cuervo is also of the opinion that it may be due to the confusion with F > j in FUERTE > *juerte*, etc. (*Apuntaciones*, § 821).

<sup>4</sup> *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 30.

§ 131. Sporadic developments of medial -b-, -v-: 1. -b- > f-: CALIBRE > *califre*.

2. -b- > m: DEBASANA > *demasana*, English SON OF A GUN > *sana-magón*. The bilabial *b* is nasalized by the following nasal and the bilabial nasal *m* is the result. Cf. Old Spanish *bramante* < ERABANTE, etc., (Baist, *Grundr.*, p. 896), see § 119. In *vagamundo* < VAGABUNDO, we have a case of popular etymology, found also in Spain, everywhere.<sup>1</sup>

3. -b- > -p-: SÚBITO > *súpito*, (but used only as an adverb meaning 'dead', (*cayó súpito*). *Súpito* was used in Old Spanish as the modern *súbito*, cf. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, p. 249, and in Bogotá *súpito* means 'stupefied', 'senseless', *ibid.* § 579. The semasiology of *súpito*, therefore, deserves to be studied. For -b- > -p-, cf. also *sopitaña* = *súbita*, Juan Ruiz, ed. Ducamin, p. 42.

§ 132. Voiceless intervocalic explosives become voiced. This is evidently a survival of the old universal law in the development of Latin into Spanish, Old French, etc.

1. -c- > -g-: TRAFICAR > *trafigar*.

2. -t- > -d-: ÁGATA > *Águeda*, RETE- (prefix) > *rede*.

§ 133. -d- > -g-. Medial fricative -d- before *r* has become *g*: LADRAR > *lagrar*, HIDROPESÍA > *igropesía*; also in PALADAR > *palagar*.<sup>2</sup> In *lagrar* and *palagar* the back guttural vowels may change the weak fricative *d* to the fricative *g*; also in *higropesía*, the *g* is called by the palatal *i*. In *gama*, *gazapo*, *golfin*, Baist is of the opinion that the *g* is not a phonetic development of the *d* (*Grundriss*, p. 896). FEDERICO > *Feberico* is an isolated example of a weak fricative *d* > *b*, by influence of the initial labial *f*.

§ 134. -d- > -l- (see also initial d- > -l-, § 120): ADMITIR > *almitir*, ADVERTIR > *alvertir*, ADMIRAR > *almirar*, ADQUIRIR > *alquerir*, ADMIRACIÓN > *almiración*. This change is due, Cuervo believes, to confusion with the prefix *al*, and it is common to many Spanish regions.<sup>3</sup>

§ 135. -d- > -r-. Intervocalic -d- has changed to *r* in some words: LEÓNIDAS > *Lionires*, ARBOLEDA > *arbolera*, PÁRPADO > *párparo*, LEOCADIA > *Liocaria*. In *arbolera*, *párparo*, there may be influence of the first *r*. Cuervo finds this curious change in a few words of the Atlantic Coast of Colombia and suggests African influence, an observation which cannot apply in New Mexico.

<sup>1</sup> M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 70.

<sup>2</sup> While in Chile *d* is often voiced before *r* in PADRE > *paire*, etc.; *pagre*, *piegra*, are also heard, cf. Lenz, *Chilenische Studien* I, 288.

<sup>3</sup> *Apuntaciones*, § 734.

§ 136. -F- > -j-. Just as initial F- > j-, and for the same reasons (§§ 100, 121), medial -f-, in New Mexican Spanish, has the value of a voiceless pharyngeal j [x]. The phenomenon is also prevalent in nearly all the Spanish countries mentioned where initial f- > j-, see § 121.

Examples of medial -F- > -j- are: *ajuera*, *dijunto*, *perjume*, *rejunjuñar*, *ajirmar*, *projundo*, see also English F > j, § 248.

§ 137. -G- > -b- [v]. Before *u*, by the strengthening of the labial element, the weak *g* is lost, and a bilabial fricative [v] is developed: AGUJA > *abuja*, AGUJERO > *abujero*, AGUJETA > *abujeta*, *abujeriar*, etc. See also HUE- > *gue-* > *bue-*, § 123.

This phenomenon is found also in practically all the Spanish speaking countries,<sup>1</sup> but not in Colombia.<sup>2</sup> Compare with this change the fall of intervocalic explosive *g* and the development of an epenthetic *v* in Rhaetian (*dove*, French *douve*, Milanese *dova*, etc., < Latin DŌGA; Rhaetian *jov*, Sicilian *yuvu*, Milanese *šov* < Latin JUGU;<sup>3</sup> and also the change of \*GŪ > *v* in Old Latin: \*NIGUIS > *nivis*, \*FRUGUOR > *fruvor* > *fruor*, etc.<sup>4</sup>

§ 138. -G- > -d- (see also medial -D- > -g-, § 133). MIGAJA > *midaja*, CAGAJÓN > *cadajón*. This phenomenon is more frequent in Santa Fé and vicinity to the north. The medial group -RG- > *rd* in LETARGO > *letardo*.

§ 139. -H- > -j-. Just as Old XVI century Spanish aspirate *h* has been preserved in New Mexican Spanish and in all the dialects mentioned in §§ 121, 122 (cf. also § 100), medial -h-, representing, like initial *h*, a Latin *f*, is preserved in New Mexican Spanish as the voiceless pharyngeal aspirate [x] (= New Mexican Spanish *j*), and also in the Spanish countries mentioned in § 121, 122. See also initial and medial -F- > j [x], §§ 121, 136. Examples of medial -H- > -j- in New Mexican Spanish are: *ajumar*, *retajila*, *ajondar*, *mojo*.

In *desafusiar* < Lat. DESAFIDŪCIĀRE > Old Spanish DESAFUCIAR > Mod. Castilian, *desahuciar*, New Mexican Spanish has preserved the original Latin -f-, a peculiarity of Galician and western Asturian.

§ 140. -HUE- > -ue- > -güe-. For the same reasons and practically under the same conditions as we have seen initial HUE- > *güe-*,

<sup>1</sup> Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, p. 310; Baist, *Grundriss*, p. 897.

<sup>2</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 781.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer-Lübke I, § 438.

<sup>4</sup> Hale and Buck, *Latin Grammar*, p. 49.



medial **-HUE-** becomes **-güe-** in New Mexican Spanish, a phenomenon general in the Spanish dialects, being found also in all the localities where the initial development occurs, see § 123. (Compare also **BUE**, **VUE**, and Germanic **u** > **gu**, in both the initial and medial groups, §§ 118, 123, 130). Examples: **VIHUELA** > *bigüela*, **PARIHUELA** > *parigüela*, **ALCAHUETE** > *alcagüete*, **AHUECAR** > *agüecar*.

In medial **ue** after **r**, since **ue** > *güe* and for the same reasons, an epenthetic **g** has developed: **CIRUELA** > *sirgüela*, **VIRUELA** > *virgüela*. Compare Latin **AVÖLUS** > *avuelo* > *aüelo* > *auelo* > *ahuelo* > *agüelo* in *Corvacho*, Lucas Fernández, etc. See also § 123.

§ 141. **-L-** > **-r-**: medial **l** has become **r** in New Mexican Spanish in a few words for various reasons (see **D** > **r**, § 135).

1. By dissimilation: **ALQUILAR** > *arquilar*, **CALCULAR** > *carcular*, **ALFALFA** > *alfarfa*, **COLMILLO** > *cormio* (the change of **L** > **r** is here older than the disappearance of medial **LL**), also in **SALPULLIDO** > *sarpüido*.

2. For other reasons: **FULMINANTE** > *forminante*. See also final **L** > **r**, see § 152, 3, and also **R** > **l**, § 144.

All these phenomena are, for the most part, universal in the modern Spanish dialects, in Old Spanish, and in all Romance languages and dialects; see Cuervo, *Apuntaciones* § 790; Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 66, and Meyer-Lübke I, § 573.

§ 142. **-m-** > **-n-**. In the first person plural of the imperfect and conditional indicative, and in the present and imperfect subjunctive, the ending **-mos** becomes **nos** (observe that the accent is shifted in the subjunctive to agree with the other tenses in question). A phonetic explanation is impossible here. The reason for the development must be analogy to *vámonos*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

§ 143. **-R-** > **-l-**.<sup>2</sup> 1. By dissimilation: **RETÓRICO** > *retólico*, **PREVARICAR** > *prevalicar*, **PEREGRINO** > *pelegrino*, **ARBITRIO** > *albitrio*, **ERMITAÑO** > *almitaño*. (In the last two we may have confusion of prefix.) Compare Latin **PÜRÞÜRA** > *porpola*; French *pelérin*, etc.

2. Unclassified: **ESPERMA** > *espelma*.

§ 144. **-R-** > **-s-**. Before **l**, **r** has developed in some words in New Mexican Spanish to a weak **s**, which, though frequently heard, may more often change to **h** (§ 153): **BURLA** > *busla*, *buhla*; **PERLA**

<sup>1</sup> See Hills, *New Mexican Spanish*, p. 730, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Common every where; see Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 790 and 141; **L** > **r** and note.

> *pesla*, *pehla*; IRLANDA > *islanda* > *ihlanda*; CARLOS > *Caslos*, *Cahlos*, *Caslota*, etc. The change of *r* to *s* in the group *rl* > *sl* is perhaps due to no other reason than the general law of least effort. Postdental *s* + denti-alveolar *l* is a much easier group than the somewhat trilled alveolar *r* + denti-alveolar *l*. For *s* > *h*, see § 153.

§ 145. Sporadic development of other medial consonants.

1. -G- > -j-: LITIGAR > *litijar*.
2. -HI- > -gui-: *váguido*, *reguilete*, vulgar forms in all regions for *vahido*, *rehilete*, and all four found in the Academy dictionary, are yet to be explained.
3. -J- > -g-: IJOTES > *egotes*, AGILEZA > *aguileza*.
4. -L- > -n-: PÍLDORA > *pindora* (assimilation to *d*?).
5. -NM- > -mb-: INMUNDICIA > *imbundisia*.
6. -N- > -l-: ABANDONAR > *abaldonar*, etc., (dissimilation), ANIMAL > *alimal* (assimilation).
7. -N- > -m- always before the labial consonants *b*, *p*, *v*, *u*, *f*, see § 107 and § 20.
8. -Ñ- > -j- (rare): MAÑANA > *mayana*; TAMAÑO > *tamayo*.
9. -R- > -d-: ARITMÉTICA > *adismética*.<sup>1</sup>
10. -S- > -r-: FÓSFORO > *fóforo* (assimilation).
11. -T- > -l-: ESTRAMBÓTICO > *estrambólico* (dissimilation).

§ 146. -R- > -dr-. By analogy to futures and conditionals in *dr* (see however *DE* > *rr*, § 148), -R- > -dr- in the futures and conditionals of TRAER > *trer*, *trai*, and CAER > *cai*, *quer*: CAERÉ > *cairé*, *caidré*; TRAERÉ > *trairé*, *traidré*; also *caidría*, *traidría*, etc. Compare the Old Spanish forms *cadra*, *cadrán*, *El Poema de Fernán González* (Marden) 24, 211, etc.

§ 147. -RR- > -dr-: Intervocalic *rr* [r̄] has become *dr*; also, apparently by analogy to other futures and conditionals with *dr* (see § 146), in the future and conditional indicative of *querer*: *quedré*, *quedrá*, *quedrán*, etc. See also *DE* after *n* > *rr* [r̄], below § 148.

§ 148. -DR- > -rr- [r̄]. In the group *ndr*, the *d* is lost, making the *r* a trilled alveolar, [r̄], and the *n* may also fall, leaving a nasal vowel: PONDRÉ > *ponré* [põre], *tenré*, *venremos*, *venría*, *tenría* [tẽ:ria], etc.

This phenomenon may possibly be a preservation of *nr*, with *r* „fuerte“ (M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 59, 4) as Spanish *honra*, cf., Old Spanish, *ondra*, *Cid*, 2941, 3262, *ondrada*, *ibid.* 178, 284, 843, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Baist believes that *arismética* may be Andalusian, *Grundriss*, p. 904, and Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 738, says it was in use in Old Spanish.

§ 149. -GN- > -ñ-. Medial -gn- (though as a rule it becomes *n*, the *g* being silent see § 183), has developed in some words to *ñ*. This is a not entirely moribund old law, which often made medial GN > *ñ* in Old Spanish: SĪGNA > *seña*, TAM MAGNU > *tamaño*, LĪGNUM > *leño*, etc. Compare also GN > *ñ* in French and Italian. Examples: IGNORANTE > *iñorante*, DIGNO > *diño*, INDIGNO > *indiño*, REPUGNAR > *repuñar*.

GN > *ñ* is not rare in classic Spanish and earlier; cf. Lucas Fernández, *iñorancia* 97, *iñorar* 125.

§ 150. -NI- > -ñ-. Medial -ni- (see also initial NI- > *ñ*-) when atonic before a vowel, has been palatalized in all words in New Mexican Spanish. The examples are numerous: *demoño*, *Antoño*, *liña*, *Alemaña*, *Ugeño*, *Opiñón*, *matrimoño*, *quiñentos*, *comuñón*, *Jiño* < (HIGINIO), *testimoño*, *tiñeblas*, *Dañel*, etc. When the *i* has the tonic accent, as in *tenía*, *manía*, etc., the palatization does not as a rule take place, but sporadic examples of this development with the *i* remaining are also found: whether initial or medial *poñía*, *añio* < (ANILLO), (see § 128). The change NI > *ñ* is found also in Mexico,<sup>1</sup> and it is not infrequent in the Spanish of the XVth and XVIth centuries.<sup>2</sup>

§ 151. -s- > -š-. In a few words New Mexican Spanish has *š* instead of Spanish *s* in the intervocalic group *sc* > *šc*, and especially after tonic *a*. The back tonic *a* + the influence of the velar *k* following, probably causes the tip of the tongue to rise from the post-dental position to the alveolar and prepalatal region, and [š] is finally developed. The gradual development is natural from the physiological standpoint. A similar process may explain the change of voiceless Old Spanish *s* to *x* (= [š]), which later became *j*, though here the conditions are often different, and possibly Menéndez Pidal is correct in attributing this change to Moorish influence.<sup>3</sup> The New Mexican Spanish words with medial *s* > [š] are: *mošca*, *bašcas*, *mašcar*, *máščara*

<sup>1</sup> Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, §§ 67, 68.

<sup>2</sup> Lucas Fernández, *matrimoño*, *demoño*, etc. 30, 165, etc.; *Corvacho*, *demoño* 185; Juan de Mena, *Obras*, *Alemaña* 20, 130; Torres Naharro, *Alemaña*, *demoño*, *dimoño*, etc. 104, 134, 252, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Gram. Hist.*, § 37. Sufficient and convincing data to warrant this affirmation are given by Menéndez Pidal in his study on the *Poema de Yuçuf*, in the *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos* VI, pp. 116-119. Menéndez Pidal also observes that in many cases the Moorish sound in question has *ç* and *z* > [š], which to me, means nothing more than the simple fact that in southern Spain, the phenomenon of the development *ç*, *z* > *s* began in the XVth century. See § 112. See also Baist in *Grundriss*, p. 898, and Meyer-Lübke I, § 417.

*pešcar*, *cašco*, *cašcara*. These words are of different sources. *Mosca* < Latin *MŪSCA* > Fr. *mouche*; *cašcara*, *cašco* < Latin, *QUASSĪCĀRE*, *SS + IC* > *šc*; *mašcar* < Latin *MASTICĀRE*, *STC* > *šc*, French *mâcher*; *māšcara* < Old High German, *MASKA*, *SK* > *šc*. The development to *šc* may have taken place in all these words in New Mexican Spanish, but at least *mašcar* and *cašcos*<sup>1</sup> are found early in the XVIth century in Spanish, which shows that the change is not new, and the tendency for *sc* > *šc* may be more general.<sup>2</sup> Compare the change of *sc* > *š* in French *mouche*, *mâcher*, etc. See [š] from Nahuatl or English source, §§ 165, 253 and *s + i* > [š], § 163.

### c) Final consonants.

§ 152. Final consonants are so rare in Spanish that the few changes in New Mexican Spanish are all due to phenomena already observed in the initial and medial positions. The New Mexican changes in final consonants are:

1. -D > -r: *ALMUD* > *almur*. See medial -D- > -r-, § 135.
2. -J > -s: *BELOJ* > *relós*. See Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 760.
3. -L > -r: *ALCOHOL* > *alcajol* > *alcajor*; *DELANTAL* > *delantar*; *DÁTIL* > *LÁTIL* > *látir*. See medial -L- > -r-, § 141.
4. -N > -l: *CARMEN* > *Carmel*; *CARMÍN* > *carmil*; *PANINO* > *panín* > *panil*.
5. Final *s + i* > *š*, *ž*. (See § 163).

### d) Aspirate *s* < *c*, *s*, *z*, *x*.

§ 153. The general rules governing the normal New Mexican pronunciation of *s*, from whatever source *c* (*e*, *i*), *s*, *z*, have been already stated in § 111. We must discuss more extensively, however, the observations given there, since the change of *s* to the aspirate *h* (a very weak [x] except when medial) is one very common in New Mexico. (For silent *s* before consonants, see § 186.) The standard New Mexican *s* as already stated, does not differ essentially from the standard voiceless Castilian *s*, but there is a marked tendency to move the tip of the tongue upwards, removing it partly from the denti-alveolar region and either touching the uppermost edges of the gingivae very slightly or not at all, an aspiration alone remaining, which is strengthened to [h] or [x], or, as in the case where the *s*

<sup>1</sup> Juan Ruiz, *caxco*, *copla* 23; Torres Naharro, *Propaladia* I, *maxcar* 134, *maxcando* 226, *caxcos* 135, 247.

<sup>2</sup> The phenomenon occurs in Judeo-Spanish, Subak, *Zeitschrift* XXX, 155.

comes to be silent, the weak aspiration is entirely lost. The phenomenon  $s > [h]$  is a well known one, and one which has attracted the attention of all philologists. Evidently its development is in all cases due to a strengthening of the weak aspiration which first accompanied the  $s$  sound after the tongue had completely left its place of articulation, remaining in almost the same position in the mouth, but with no contact with the teeth or alveoles. The reasons which bring about this process, however, may not be in all cases the same.<sup>1</sup>

§ 154. The rules governing  $s < s, c, z > [h]$  in New Mexican Spanish are the following:

1. When before velar consonants, when intervocalic, and when initial in a breath group,  $s$  may usually become the complete voiceless New Mexican  $j$ ,  $[x]$ . To avoid confusion, and because it is a weak quality of the  $[x]$ , we represent it by  $[h]$ . Examples: DICE  $>$  *dihe*; EXAMINAR  $>$  *esaminar* or *chaminar*; LAS CASAS  $>$   $[l\text{a}\eta\text{ k}\text{a}\text{s}\text{a}\text{s}]$  or  $[l\text{a}\eta\text{ k}\text{a}\text{h}\text{a}\text{s}]$ ; PESCAR  $>$  *pehcar*; ES GÜENO  $>$  *eh güeno* (also  $[e\text{z}\text{ g}\ddot{u}\text{e}\text{n}\text{o}]$ , see, § 111, 3); ES QUE NO  $>$   $[i\text{h}\text{ k}\text{e}\text{ n}\text{o}]$ ; NOSOTROS  $>$  *nohotroh*; PASAR  $>$  *pahar*; SIEMPRE  $>$  *hiempre*; LOS VICIOS  $>$  *l\eta\text{h}\text{ vihi\eta}s* (see also  $s + \text{I} > [\text{š}]$ , § 163); SUELTA  $>$  *huelta*.  $s$  may be also heard in all cases.

2.  $s + s > h$  (almost  $x$ ): LOS ZAPATOS  $>$  *lo hapatos*; TUS SOBROS  $>$  *tu hobras*; LAS SÁBANAS  $>$  *la hábanas*.

3. In all other positions (except when silent before  $m, n, l, r$ , etc., see § 186)  $s$  may usually become a weak voiceless pharyngeal aspirate  $[h]$ : LOS HIJOS  $>$  *lo hijos*; MIS PADRES  $>$  *mih padres*; ESPERAR  $>$  *ehperar*; ESTÁ  $>$  *ehtá*, etc.

§ 155.  $s > h$  in other Spanish dialects.

A distinguishing characteristic of New Mexican Spanish is, that  $s$  from any source may become  $h$ , while in the case of the other Spanish dialects that have  $s > h$ , the  $h$  represents in all cases a Castilian  $s$ . Cuervo, Lenz, Marden, Semeleder and Schuchardt do not mention the change of  $s < c$  ( $e, i$ ),  $z, x > h$ .  $c$  ( $i, e$ ),  $s$  and  $z, x$ , have in Andalusia and in all Spanish America the sound of a simple voiceless  $s$ . Therefore one is tempted to conclude that, if in the Spanish dialects (with the exception of the New Mexican),  $c$  ( $e, i$ ),  $z > s$ , but never  $h$ , the change  $s > h$  is an early one, i. e., before the change of  $c, z$  to  $s$  took place, and the late development in New Mexico of  $c, z > s > h$  is the new phenomenon. I offer this only as a suggestion, though I believe that at least  $c$  ( $e, i$ ),  $z > s > h$  is common to all the Spanish dialects just as well as the recorded change  $s > h$ , but that it has escaped the observations of philologists. When therefore, I mention the occurrence of the change of  $s > h$  in other Spanish dia-

<sup>1</sup> For a further discussion of the general character of this change, see also Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 758; Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 42; Meyer-Lübke I, § 568; Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, pp. 56-57.

lects, I speak only of original Spanish *s*. This is a widespread phenomenon in the Spanish countries, and though it cannot be stated positively that the resulting *h* is of the same pronunciation everywhere, we have reasons enough to believe that it is. The change in question occurs to-day in New Mexico,<sup>1</sup> Bogotá,<sup>2</sup> Chile,<sup>3</sup> Cuba,<sup>1</sup> Andalusia,<sup>4</sup> Estremadura,<sup>2</sup> Toledo, and Castile.<sup>5</sup> Cuervo states that, in Bogotá, *s* > *h* (German or English *h*) occurs when final before a pause, and that before a consonant it is a weak *h* partly assimilated to the consonant, and scarcely perceived before a mute. In Chile, Lenz states that, among the *Guasos*, *s* > *h* („*h* in Deutsch“) occurs in any position. In Andalusia, Schuchardt states that final *s* not before a vowel, or *s* before a consonant becomes *h*, but as a rule not when intervocalic; while Araujo says that in Castile, Toledo, and also Andalusia, *s* > *h* is found in all cases when final in a word or syllable, or when before labials and gutturals.

### e) The consonant *ll*.

§ 156. The many and varied developments which palatal *l* has obtained in the Romance languages and dialects furnish some of the most interesting phenomena in Romance philology. All the Romance languages have or have had at some stage of their development, with the possible exception of some unimportant local dialect, a palatal *l*, though not always from the same sources. Old French *l* mouillé < Latin *LI*, *JL*, *CL*, *GL*, has become *ɲ* in modern French, with the exception of southern France, some dialects of western France and Switzerland.<sup>6</sup> In Old Provençal, *l* results from Latin medial *LL* (in some southern dialects), *CL*, *GL*, *CH*, *LLG*, *LI*, *LLI*.<sup>7</sup> The Catalán palatal *l* < Latin, *LI*, *LL* (rarely also *CL*, *PL*), and initial *L*, has become, in modern western Catalán, Girona, and Barcelona *y* when intervocalic, with an occasional disappearance of the *y*<sup>8</sup> (as in New Mexico).

In Italian, *l* (*gl*) comes from Latin *LI*, *GL* (secondary), and sometimes *CL* (secondary), and other obscure cases.<sup>9</sup> The *l* element then disappears and *l* becomes *ɲ* in Central Italy (Rome, Abruzzes, etc.), Northern Italy, while in Venice the *ɲ* becomes *z*, and in Southern Italy and Tuscany the palatal becomes an explosive, *gy*, which in Linguaglossa (Sicily) becomes even *ky*.<sup>10</sup> As to the Roumanian *l* < Latin *LI* (*GI*, rare), it is preserved in Macedonian, Istrick and Moldavian and has become *y* (*ɲ*) in Eastern and Central Rhaetian, and in modern times, intervocalic *ɲ* has disappeared everywhere<sup>11</sup> (Compare New Mexican). In Sicily, *l* < *LI*, is found

<sup>1</sup> Marden, *The Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 42.

<sup>2</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 758.

<sup>3</sup> Lenz, *Chilenische Studien* II, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, p. 319.

<sup>5</sup> Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>6</sup> Nyrop I, §§ 350, 351.

<sup>7</sup> Grandgent, *Old Provençal*, §§ 67, 68, 73.

<sup>8</sup> See *Das Catalanische* von Alfr. Morel-Fatio und J. Saroihandy, in *Grundriss* I, pp. 858, 859, § 42.

<sup>9</sup> *Die italienische Sprache*, D'Ovidio und Meyer-Lübke, in *Grundriss* I, 678-679.

<sup>10</sup> Meyer-Lübke I, § 514.

<sup>11</sup> Meyer-Lübke I, §§ 510, 515.

in Palermo, but it becomes *gi* in the east and west, while in Piedmont and Venice the *ĭ* has fallen after the accent.<sup>1</sup>

§ 156 bis. In the Iberian peninsula the sources are in many respects different. In Portuguese the initial groups *cl*, *fl*, *pl*, developed into *čl*, *fl*, *pl*, with palatal *č* with the initial consonant preserved, and then all the groups developed to *č* in the north (also in western Asturian), while in southern Portugal the groups finally developed to *š*.<sup>2</sup> Cornu believes that the *č* is developed from *č*, but Meyer-Lübke and Menéndez Pidal are of the opinion that the palatal *č* was the original for the three initial groups both in Portuguese and Spanish.<sup>3</sup> The Portuguese palatal *č* < Latin, TL, DL, CL, GL, LY, has apparently remained unchanged. In Castilian the initial groups *cl*, *fl*, *pl* have always given *č*, which, as is the belief of M. Pidal and Meyer-Lübke is also the source of the Portuguese *č*, *š*, the northern Leonese *tch*, etc. Castilian *č* < LY became very early *y* which remained in Asturias, western León and parts of Galicia (Navia).<sup>4</sup> In Miranda the old palatal *č* has remained. In Castilian the *y* probably became *š* very early and this became *č* in some parts of Asturias and *j* in modern Castilian. The stage *č* > *y* has another development. The *y* falls entirely in western Leonese and Asturian: FILIŪ > *fiyo* > *fio*; AURICLA > *ureya* > *urea*; *vieya* > *vica*, etc.<sup>5</sup> Castilian also developed contrary to all the other Romance languages a palatal *č* from Latin LL, initial or medial, and this also probably became *y* very early in northern Leonese and in parts of Galicia: *gayo* < (GALLO), *ayá* < (ALLÁ) etc.<sup>6</sup> The early palatalized *č* from initial Spanish *l* of the Asturian also has developed to *y* in the Asturian region of Navia: LINGUA > *lingua* > *yingua*; LUNA > *luna* > *yua*, etc.<sup>7</sup> (Compare New Mexican and Spanish American *y* < Castilian *č*). Of later development (as early as the XIVth century?) is the beginning of the change of Castilian *č* from whatever source to *y* in Andalusia, Madrid, Toledo, and from there carried to America.<sup>7</sup>

§ 157. We see then that the change of palatal *č* to *y* is found in many Romance dialects and that the further phenomenon of the complete fall of *y* is likewise of frequent occurrence in many Romance dialects.<sup>8</sup> A general observation concerning the extension of the change of *č* from what ever source to *y* and finally to disappear entirely in the Romance dialects, as Latin FILIŪ > Roumanian *fiyu* > *fiu*, Western Leonese *fiyo* > *fio*; Latin AURICLA > Asturian *orela* > *oreya* > *urea*; Latin YLLA > Spanish *ella* > Spanish American *eya* > New Mexican Spanish *ea*, etc., would be the following: Romance intervocalic *č* becomes *ĭ* and then may disappear

<sup>1</sup> Meyer-Lübke I, § 516.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Cornu, in *Grundriss* I, 974-975, and Meyer-Lübke I, § 422.

<sup>3</sup> See Cornu and Meyer-Lübke, ut supra, and Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, 39, 2; *El Dialecto Leonés*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>4</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>5</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, § 9.

<sup>6</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 740. Cuervo states that in Bogotá and Central Colombia *ll* has not become *y*.

<sup>8</sup> Compare the fall of Indo-European intervocalic *ĭ* in Greek and Italic, \*TREJES > Greek *τρεῖς*, Latin *trēs* (Sanskrit *trayas*), etc., see Brugmann, *Abrégé*, §§ 151, 152, and Buck, *Gram. Osc-Umb.*, § 82.

entirely, in Western Catalonia, Barcelona, Girona, Eastern and Central Rhaetia, modern Roumania, Piedmont, Venice, Western León, Asturias, Andalusia, Mexico, New Mexico. In Western Catalonia, Barcelona, Girona, the phenomenon occurs between any vowels as in New Mexico; in Roumania before or after *c*; in Piedmont and Venice between any vowels, but after the accent; and in León and Asturias between any vowels before or after the accent.<sup>1</sup>

§ 158. Spanish LL > *ɨ* or disappears in New Mexican Spanish. Spanish LL > *ɨ* occurs in all of Spanish America (except Bogotá), Andalusia, Estremadura, Toledo, New Castile, The Balkan Peninsula, and many other places.<sup>2</sup> In New Mexico, the same is the rule, but with many new and important developments. Exact rules for the change *ɨ* < LL in New Mexican Spanish will now be given:

1. Initial LL- became *y*- (*ɨ*) in New Mexican Spanish since the time of colonization in the XVIth century, and remains unchanged:<sup>3</sup> LLEGAR > *yegar* (*ɨegar*); LLENO > *yeno*; YO LLORO > *yo yoro*; LLAMAR > *yamar*; LLEVA > *yeva*, etc.

2. With medial -LL- > -*y*-, the rules are not the same for all localities in New Mexico. In all of northern New Mexico (but not in Santa Fé) and southern Colorado,<sup>4</sup> intervocalic (LL >) *y* has entirely disappeared in the groups *alli*, *elli*, *olli*, *illu*, *ulli*, *illa*, *ille*, *illi*, *illo*, *ella*, *ello*, whether before or after the accent, leaving a hiatus which is rarely broken.<sup>5</sup>

a) ALLÍ > *ayí* > *ái*: GALLINA > *gáina*; MEDALLITA > *medáita*; CABALLITO > *cabáito*; ALLI > *ái* OR *ái*.

b) ELLA > *eya* > *ca*: ESTRELLA > *estrea*; ELLA > *eya* > *ea*; SELLAR > *sear*; BELLA > *bea*; CENTELLA > *sentea*.

c) ELLÍ > *eyí* > *cí*: ESTRELLITA > *estreíta*; SELLITO > *seíto*; APELLIDO > *apeído*.

<sup>1</sup> I have formulated my rules from the various observations of Menéndez Pidal, Cornu, Meyer-Lübke, Morel-Fatio, etc., in the works already mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> See Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 740, Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, p. 55, and *Romania* VIII, 622.

<sup>3</sup> The disappearance of initial *y* < LL is very rare, but isolated examples are not lacking in rapid speech.

<sup>4</sup> This would include in New Mexico, Taos, Mora, San Juan, Santa Cruz, Abiquiá, El Rito, Tierra Amarilla; in Colorado all the San Luis Valley, Conejos, Durango, Trinidad, Walsenburg.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the fall of *ɨ* < *ɨ* in other Romance dialects, § 157. Among the modern Spanish dialects, the LL > *y* falls entirely, also in Judeo-Spanish before or after *i*, also after *e*: *kadio*, *kučio*, *istrea*, *sintea*, *akea*, etc., Subak, *Zeitschrift* XXX, 145-146. The law is substantially the same as the one in operation in New Mexico, 2) end.



d) ELLO > *eyo* > *eo*; ELLOS > *eos*; CABELLO > *cabeo*; PABELLÓN > *pabeón*; SELLO > *seo*.

e) ILLA > *iya* > *ía* (two syllables): SILLA > *sía*; MILLA > *mía*; SEMILLA > *semía*; COSTILLA > *costía*; TRILLAR > *triar*.

f) ILLÉ > *iyé* > *ié* (two syllables): BILLETE > *biete*; SILLETA > *sieta*; SENCILLEZ > *sensiés*. ÍLLE > *íye* > *íe*; CHILLEN > *chíen*; PILLE > *pie*.

g) ILLÍ > *iyí* > *íi*: CHILLIDO > *chíido*; SILLITA > *sítta*.

h) ILLÓ > *iyó* > *ió* (two syllables): MILLÓN > *mión*. ÍLLO > *íyo* > *ío*: CHILLO > *chío*; CUCHILLO > *cuchío*; POTRILLO > *potrío*.

i) ÍLLU > *íu* (two syllables): PATILLUDO > *patiudo*; CAMILLUDO > *camiudo*.

j) OLLÍ > *oyí* > *oí*: POLLITO > *poíto*; HOLLÍN > *oín*; ROLLIZO > *roíso*.

k) ULLÍ > *uyí* > *uí*: TULLIDO > *túido*; BULLICIO > *búisio*.

The rule for the fall of intervocalic *y* < LL in these districts is: LL becomes *y* and falls entirely when before or after *i*, and also in the groups *ello*, *ella*.

3. In Santa Fé, Central New Mexico, and Albuquerque, the above development is also found, but it is not an absolute rule, hiatus *y* occurring just as frequently: GALLINA > *gayina* or *gaina*; ESTRELLITA > *estreyita* or *estreíta*; COSTILLA > *costiya* or *costía*; SILLETA > *siyeta* or *sieta*, etc. In the groups *ella*, *ello* [see 2) end] the fall of *y* is rare in these districts: ELLA > *eya* (rare *ea*); ELLOS > *eyos*; ESTRELLA > *estreya*; CABELLO > *cabeyo* (rare *cabeo*), etc.

4. In the groups *alla*, *alle*, *allo*, *elle*, *elhu*, *olla*, *olle*, *ollo*, the *y* < LL may usually remain as *i*, but it may often disappear entirely, especially in the San Luis Valley (Southern Colorado).

a) ALLÁ > *ayá* or *áá* (San Luis Valley *áá* or *á*): CALLA > *caya* (in the San Luis Valley *caya* or *cáa*, *cá*); CALLAR > *cayar*, *caar*, etc.

b) ALLE > *aye* or *ae*, *ai* (see § 62): CALLE > *caye*, *cae*, *cai* (rare *cayí*); BALLENA > *bayena*, *baena* (rare); VALLE > *vaye*, *vae*, *vai* (rare *vayí*).

c) ALLO > *ayo* or *ao*: CABALLO > *cabayo* (San Luis Valley *cabao*); GALLO > *gayo* (rare *gao*); HALLO > *hayo*.

d) ELLE > *eye*, *ee*, *ei* (see § 68): BELLEZA > *beyesa*; FUELLE > *jueye*, *juei*; BELLENO > *reyeno*, *reeno* (San Luis Valley).

e) ELLÚ > *eyú* > *éu*: CABELLUDO > *cabeyudo*, *cabeúdo*.

f) OLLA > *oya*, *oa*: OLLA > *olla* > *oa*; CEBOLLA > *seboya*, *seboa*; COLLAR > *coyar*, *coar*.

g) OLLO > *oyo*, *oo*: POLLO > *poyo*, *poo*; BOLLO > *royo*, *roo*; BOLLO > *boyo*, *boo*; POLLÓN > *poyón*: SOLLOZAR > *soyosar*. The fall of *y* here, is found only in Southern Colorado.

5. In the groups *allu*, *olle*, *ollu*, *ulla*, *ulle*, *ullu*, the *y* < LL always remains: *orguyo*, *buya*, *foyeto*, *tayudo*, etc.<sup>1</sup>

§ 159. LL > *y* > *ɨ* > *ž*, *š*, *č*, *ǰ*. Medial LL > *y* may develop in New Mexican Spanish under certain conditions to all these sounds. The sounds *č* and *ǰ* (English *j* in *John*) are not general, being peculiar to the vulgar speech of Santa Cruz, Chimayó and the mountain districts north of Santa Fé: ALLA > *ayá*, *ad*, *á*; *aža*, *aša*, *ačá*, *aǰá*; ALLf > *ayí*, *ai*, *ai*; *aži*, *aši*, *ačí*, *aǰí*. The pronunciations, *ayá*, *ad*, *ažá*, *aša*, are common everywhere in New Mexico, the others only in the districts mentioned above. The phenomenon LL > *y* > *ž* is found frequently in Puebla, Mexico, Buenos Ayres, and San Salvador,<sup>2</sup> and is similar to the development of Spanish *y* < *ɨ* < LI > *ž* (which later gave modern *j*) in MULIEB > *muller* > *muyer* > *mužer*, etc. Compare also the Northern Leonese *tch*, *tsch* < L, and the Southwestern Asturian *ch* < *y* < L,<sup>3</sup> developments which are parallel in many respects. See also LL > *y* > *š*, *ž*, *ǰ*, § 162.

§ 160. Sporadic developments of LL. 1. LL > *l*: *peliscar*, *pelisco*; PLŮVIA > (*lluvia*?) > *luvia*; GUILLOTINA > *guilotina*. *Peliscar*, etc., are Galician forms and found also in Bogotá.<sup>4</sup> *Luvia* (violent rainfall or current of water; rain is *yuvia*, *žuvia*, or *ǰuvia*, in New Mexico) may be an Old Spanish form. For initial FL, GL > *l*, Old Spanish *lande* < GLANDE, Santander *lera* < GLABEA, etc., see Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 39, 2. *Guilotina* is of French origin introduced from Mexico.

2. LL > *ɲ*: LLAMAR > *ɲamar*, LLAMAS > *ɲamas* (found only in La Gallina, northwestern New Mexico); LLOVIZNAR > *ɲovisnar* (found only in Santa Fé) by analogy to *ɲublarse*.

#### f) Developments of *ɨ*.

§ 161. The nature of this sound has been already studied (§ 109). We will resume here the sources of the palatal voiced

<sup>1</sup> By analogy to the fall of *y* < LL, Spanish intervocalic *y* also may fall in New Mexican Spanish, § 187.

<sup>2</sup> Marden, *The Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, pp. 44, 45.

<sup>3</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés*, pp. 35, 39.

<sup>4</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 739.

fricative *ʃ*. The sources of *ʃ* may be: initial or medial *ll* (§§ 158, 159), *y* (§ 19), *e*, *i* (§§ 15, 16, 83), *hi*. The conditions which bring about these developments have been studied in the sections indicated. *ʃ* may develop in New Mexican Spanish into various sounds, the most important of which are [č], [ž], [š], [ǰ].<sup>1</sup>

§ 162. Initial *ll* > [ž], [ǰ]. Initial *ʃ* from whatever source may change, in the vulgar speech of New Mexicans, to [ǰ], [ž]: YO > [iŋ], [ǰŋ], [žŋ]; YEGUA > [iǰɣa], [ǰɣa], [žɣa]; YUNQUE > [iũ:kɛ], [ǰũ:kɛ]; HIERBA > [ǰɛrβa], [žɛrβa]; LLENO > [ǰɛno], [žɛno]; HIELO > [žɛlo], [ǰɛlo]; YARDA > [ǰarda], [žarda]; LLUVIA > [žuvia], [ǰuvia]; YEMA > [iǰɛma], [ǰɛma], [žɛma]. See medial *ll* > [ž], [č], [ǰ], [š] § 159.

§ 163. *s* + *ll* > [š], [ž] (rarely also [ǰ]). Initial *ʃ* from whatever source may combine with a preceding final *s*, and the result is [š], [ž] or [ǰ]. This is a widespread practice in New Mexico in all districts. Examples: PUES YO ≥ [pɛ ʃŋ], [pɛ žŋ], [pɛ ǰŋ]; LAS LLAVES > [la šavɛs], [la žavɛs], [la ǰavɛs]; ES HIELO [ɛ šɛlo], [ɛ žɛlo]; MIS YERBAS > [mi šɛrβas], [mi žɛrβas]; ES YA > [ɛ ša]. The same development is also found in [čŋ], [šŋ] < CIÓN < (ENCARNA)CIÓN; [šɛlo] < CIELO (only in Chimayó), and probably also [šɛntɛ] < CENTE < (VI)CENTE. The change of *s* + *ll* to palatal [š] or [ž] is a well known phenomenon in Romance. Intervocalic Latin *sl* > [š], [ž], took place in Italian, Roumanian, Portuguese.<sup>2</sup> Compare also the spoken American English, AS YOU > [a šu], [a žu]; PASS YOUR CHECK > [pa šɛr ɔk], etc., the development being practically a physiological necessity in rapid and careless speech.

#### g) Consonants of Nahuatl source.

§ 164. The number of Nahuatl words in common use in New Mexico is, comparatively speaking, small. Only about seventy five words, all told, are used in New Mexico, and these, for the most part, were not introduced directly from the Nahuatl, but from the Spanish of Mexico, during the early days of New Mexican colonization in the XVIIth century. For this reason no separate place need be given to the study of these words in our work, and I shall indicate only the

<sup>1</sup> Compare with this the development of *ll* > [l] > [ž], [š], [č], etc., in Old Spanish, Leonese, Asturian, etc., see § 159. The tendency of this development seems to be stronger when before the accent. I believe that *ll* > *y* gave *ž*, *š*, etc., first, and then in Castilian, *j*. Old Spanish *š*, *ž* from palatal *ʃ* seems to me a phonetic impossibility.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer-Lübke I, § 511.

phenomena which are essentially different from those of Mexico, where the numerous Nahuatl words have been already carefully studied.<sup>1</sup>

§ 165. Initial and medial Nahuatl  $x = [\text{š}] >$  Mexico Spanish  $j$ , but is preserved unchanged in New Mexican Spanish:  $xaxal >$  Mexican Spanish *jajal* = New Mexican Spanish *šasal*, as the original Nahuatl of the XVIth century. Likewise, *šosō* < Nahuatl  $xoxo$  > Mexican *jojo*; *šocoque* < (Nahuatl  $xocoque$ ). In Albuquerque and to the south, the modern Mexican Spanish  $j$  is also heard, i. e., there is no fixed rule, but in the northern districts and in Southern Colorado only the original Nahuatl  $\text{š}$  is found in these words. Have we here then, the process of  $\text{š} > j$  actually in its development? It seems that by the beginning of the XVIIth century  $x, j, = [\text{š}]$  had completely changed to modern  $j$  in Mexico, for not a single example is found either in Mexico or New Mexico of Spanish  $x$  or  $j = [\text{š}]$ . The Nahuatl  $[\text{š}]$ , however, which also became  $j$  in Mexico, following the regular development of this sound in Spain and America, did not reach its full development so quickly, and the words which came to New Mexico in the XVIIth century had not then changed  $x, j$ , to modern  $j$  but still were pronounced with  $[\text{š}]$ . Later, of course, the development to modern  $j$  was completely evolved in Mexico, but not so with New Mexican Spanish, where the original Nahuatl  $[\text{š}]$  still remains, though becoming  $j$  in the south, through Mexican influence, for it seems that the law governing  $[\text{š}] >$  modern  $j$  is no longer in operation in America.

1. Nahuatl  $[\text{š}]$  is also preserved in New Mexico in cases where it became  $s$  in Mexico: *šupilote* < Nahuatl  $xupilote$  > Mexico, *sopilote*; also *šaguaripa* <  $xaguaripa$  > Mexico, *saguaripa*.

§ 166. Other changes. 1. Nahuatl  $tl >$  Mexican Spanish  $tl, kl$  or  $t >$  in New Mexican Spanish  $t$  always:  $tlapechtlī >$  Mexican Spanish *tapeskle* > New Mexican Spanish *tapeište*;  $tlauazin >$  Mexican Spanish *klacuacho* > New Mexican Spanish *tacuašo*;  $tlemulli >$  Mexican Spanish *tle mole* or *klemole* > New Mexican Spanish *temole*.

2. Nahuatl  $qua [kua] >$  *gua* is preserved in New Mexican Spanish, and has not become *ua* as is the case in Mexico, according

<sup>1</sup> The first and only philological treatment of the laws governing the changes of words in passing from Nahuatl into Spanish is found in Marden's *The Phonology of the Spanish Dialect of Mexico City*, pp. 50-66. A comprehensive and important work on vocabulary is Cecilio A. Robelo's *Diccionario de Artequismos*, Mexico, 1906.

to Marden.<sup>1</sup> Example: *güacal* < QUAUCALLI. Likewise also *guaje*, *cacaguate*, *guajolote*, *aguacate*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

#### h) Syllabic consonants.

§ 167. The consonants which may become syllabic in New Mexican Spanish are *l*, *m*, *n*. This phenomenon is not widespread and apparently of recent development. Through a process of regressive assimilation *l*, *m*, *n*, may sometimes completely absorb the following vowel and the consonants remain syllabic. The rule in New Mexico is:

The intervocalic consonants *l*, *m*, *n*, may often completely assimilate a following tonic *i* and become syllabic. The place of articulation is also partly changed. *l* becomes a linguo-interdental fricative [l̥], *m* remains practically as *m*, but syllabic and strongly nasal [m̥], and *n* becomes a linguo-interdental nasal [ŋ̥]. In all cases the vocal chords vibrate while the air passes through the passages modified by the rigid position of the tongue and teeth or lips, which are not removed until the following consonant is pronounced. The tonic *i* is not heard at all, but the syllabication remains the same. Examples: 1. Syllabic *l* [l̥]: ARBOLITO > [ar̥v̥o̥l̥i̥to]; ALITA > [ḁl̥i̥ta]; BOLITA > [bo̥l̥i̥ta]; PALITO > [pḁl̥i̥to].

2. Syllabic *m* [m̥]: CAMITA > kḁm̥i̥ta]; Á MI PAPÁ > [ḁm̥i̥ pḁpḁ].

3. Syllabic *n* [ŋ̥]: BONITO > [bo̥ŋ̥i̥to]; ANITA > ḁŋ̥i̥ta]; CAMPANITA > [kḁ:pḁŋ̥i̥ta].<sup>3</sup>

4. Syllabic [ŋ̥] results also from *n* + *ún* + vowel: ESTABAN UNA VEZ > [est̥ḁvḁ ŋ̥ḁ vé̥s], EN UN INSTANTE > [ẽ̥:ŋ̥i̥st̥ḁ̃tẽ̥].

### III. Vocalization and Silent Consonants.

§ 168. The notorious aversion (Cuervo) which the Romance languages showed for the Latin groups *ct*, *cs*, *cc*, *x*, *gn*, *mn*, *ns*, and in special cases *pt*, *ps* and others, is very well known. All the Romance Languages participated in this common resistance to these different groups and changed them in various ways. Some groups assimilated uniformly in all regions, as *ns* > *s*, *ps* > *s* (also *is* in Provençal, Genoese, Spanish),<sup>4</sup> *pt* > *tt* > *t*, *gn* > *ñ* or *n*, etc., while others voiced and ultimately vocalized a consonant, as *ct* > *it*, *ut* (BD > *ud* in Spanish, is the result of voicing), *lt* > *ut*, etc., and these in turn changed differently in the different

<sup>1</sup> *The Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 93.

<sup>2</sup> As to vowel changes there are to be noted, *šupilote*, *chapulín*, with original Nahuatl *u*, not *o*; *tapeište* with *ei* for original *e*.

<sup>3</sup> Syllabic consonants, especially, liquids and nasals are found in Indo-European, Germanic, Modern German, etc., see Brugmann, *Abrégé de Gram. Comp.*, §§ 186-209.

<sup>4</sup> Meyer-Lübke I, 458.

Romance languages.<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that in Spain, the persistence of vocalized consonants, unchanged, is perhaps more frequent in Galician and Portuguese, whether the vocalization is of old or recent development, while all the other popular dialects of Spain and America tend to assimilate and drop the first consonant of the group, many times in harmony with the regular Old Spanish developments. Vocalization, however, is also frequent in all the modern Spanish dialects, the forms with a vocalized consonant and the forms with the silent consonant being found in many places side by side. These phenomena, as is well known and attested by Meyer-Lübke, Cuervo, Schuchardt, Lenz, Araujo, Marden, and others, are found everywhere in Spain and America, and we will only mention the New Mexican phenomena, giving always the more common forms first, and comparing with other dialects only when there seem to be marked differences.

### a) Vocalization of Consonants.

§ 169. The consonants which may become vowels in New Mexican Spanish are *b, c, p*, in the groups *abs, acc, act, ecc, ect, apt, epc, ept*.

§ 170. *ABS* > *aus* (less frequently *as*, § 178): *ABSOLUTO*, etc., > *ausoluto*, etc., *ABSTENERSE* > *austenerse*, etc., also, *asoluto*, etc.

§ 171. *ACC* > *ais, aus*<sup>1</sup> (*as* very rare): *ACCIÓN* > *aisión, ausión*; *FACCIÓN* > *faisión, fausión* (rare, *fasión*).

§ 172. *ACT* > *ait, aut*<sup>1</sup> (also *at*, § 179): *CARACTER* > *caraiter, carauter*; *ACTIVO* > *aitivo, autivo*; *INTACTO* > *intaito, intuito, intuato* (Colorado).

§ 173. *ECC* > *es, eis, eus* (rare): *LECCIÓN* > *lesiión, leisiión*; *CORRECCIÓN* > *corresiión, correisiión, correusiión*; *SECCIÓN* > *sesiión, seisiión, sisiión, seusiión*.

§ 174. *ECT* > *eit, eut* (also *et*, see § 179): *CORRECTO* > *correto, correito, correuto*;<sup>2</sup> *PERFECTO* > *perfeto, perfeito, perfeuto*;<sup>1</sup> also *respeito, respeito*,<sup>2</sup> *respeto*; *efeto, efeito, efeuto*; *direito, direuto, reito, reuto*.<sup>2</sup> The frequency of the vocalization of this group may show Galician or Portuguese influence in the sources.

§ 175. *APT* > *aut (at)*: *ADAPTAR* > *adatar, adautar*; *APTO* > *auto, aptitud* > *autitú*. The Spanish *cautivo* < *CAPTIVU* is also by analogy to a real voiced group, as *CAPITĀLE* > \**cabidal* > *cabdal* > *caudal*.

<sup>1</sup> A notable exception to our general statement is the development of Latin *ct* > *pt* and *cs* > *ps* in Roumanian and Albanian, see Meyer-Lübke I, §§ 459, 460.

<sup>2</sup> More frequent in Santa Fe, see §§ 176 and 177 note 1, where the local phenomena are classified.

Compare, however, *cabtivo* (Juan Ruiz, 1), *cabtivados* (Fernán González, 717b), where the presence of *b* for *p* is not clear.

§ 176. EPC > *eus*, *eis* (also *es*, § 184) and *aus*, in Santa Fé and vicinity (see also §§ 171, 172, 174 and 61): CONCEPCIÓN > *consesión*, *consisión*, *conseisión*, Santa Fé *consausión*; RECEPCIÓN > *reseisión*, Santa Fé *resausión*; EXCEPCIÓN > *esesión*, Santa Fé *esausión*. The change of EUS > *aus*, seems to be due, in part at least, to dissimilation of *ei*, *eu* before *ió*, and probably also by sound analogy to *au* < ABS, ACC, ACT, APT. So far as I know, it does not occur in any other Spanish dialect, and is peculiar only to the New Mexico dialect of Santa Fé.

§ 177. EPT > *eit*, *eut* (*et*): EXEPTO > *eseto*, *eseuto*, *eseito*; ACCEPTAR > *asetar*, *aseitar*, *aseutar*;<sup>1</sup> CONCEPTO > *conseto*, *conseito*, *conseuto*.

#### b) Silent Consonants.

§ 178. *b*, *v*. The consonants *b*, *v*, are frequently silent in New Mexican Spanish when intervocalic in certain groups, and also, though less frequently, when initial.

1. *b*, *v*, initial in a word and breath group may be silent in some cases in rapid speech, but only exceptionally before *ue* where

<sup>1</sup> As has been indicated above, the forms with the first consonant silent are also common everywhere, see §§ 178 f. It is to be noted that the forms with *au*, *eu*, are more frequent in Santa Fé and vicinity. The forms with *ei* are common everywhere, and the forms with the silent consonant frequent everywhere, but almost exclusively used in Southern Colorado. As to *eus*, *aus*, this is peculiar to Santa Fé, as we have said. In all cases, however, it must be observed that the forms mentioned as being common to certain localities are not the exclusive forms. Local dialects are now in a slow process of formation, and only great care and repeated observations should convince one that certain forms are more frequent in one place than in another.

The vocalization of *d* in DR > *ir*, *paire*, etc., found in Chile (Lenz, *Chilenische Studien* I, 288), Andalusia, Porto Rico, Bogotá (Cuervo, *Apuntaciones* § 742), does not occur in New Mexican Spanish.

The vocalized consonants of the Romance languages did not as a rule remain, but assimilated with the following consonant or with a neighboring vowel. Early Spanish *it* < Lat. CT > *č*, etc. In Portuguese, Aragonese and some northern and northwestern Spanish dialects it remains in the stage *perfeito*, *direito*, etc. The modern *carauter*, *ausión*, etc., show analogy to *au* + consonant of secondary development. Double forms are also found in Mexico, Bogotá, Buenos Aires, Chile, Galicia, Santander, Andalusia, etc., (Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 56). Let us also remember that the double development has remained in the literary language, *auto*, *autor*, *ausencia*, *caudal*, *cautivo*, and also *deleite*, *deleitar*, *pleito*, *afeitar*, etc.

*bue, vue*, usually develop to *güe* in any position (§§ 118, 130): VAMOS > *amos*; VENITE > *ente*; ¡VA QUE HOMBRE! *¡a que hombre!*; BUENO *güeno, ueno*.

2. When *b, v*, are intervocalic the fall is more frequent: TRABAJO > *traajo*; ESTABA > *staa*; NO VALE NADA > *no ale naa*; NO VEO > *no eo*. Dissimilation has evidently also had its influence in BEBER > *eber*, also *no ebas*, etc.

3. In the group *bs*, *b* is as a rule silent (or it is vocalized § 170): OSCURO > *oscuro, escuro*; also, *sustansia, asoluto, suscribir, oservar, osequio, esequio* < OBSEQUIO, etc.<sup>1</sup>

4. MB > *m*: *tamién*. The assimilation of MB to *mm* > *m* is one well known in the Romance languages (Meyer-Lübke I, § 497). In Old Spanish, Latin MB became *m* regularly: LŪMBU > *lomo*, PALŪMBO > *palomo*. The modern *ambos, cambiar* were regularly *amos, camiar* in Old Spanish.<sup>2</sup> In Asturias, Santander, Salamanca, *mb* remains in many words.<sup>3</sup> The New Mexican Spanish form *tamién* is found also in Bogotá (Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 769), Aragón, (*Cantas Baturras*, 70), Andalusia, Asturias, Buenos Ayres (Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, 311), Santander (Mugica, *D. Cast.*, 13). *Lamber* < Latin LAMBEBE > modern Spanish *lamer*, is also common in New Mexico, Portugal, Galicia, Santander, Bogotá, Venezuela, Mexico,<sup>4</sup> and is a form preserved from Old Spanish which had escaped the development MB > *m*.

§ 179. *c c* may be usually silent in New Mexican Spanish before any consonant (or it may be vocalized, §§ 171, 174): LECTOR > *letor*; DEFECTO > *defeto*; RESPECTAR > *respetar*; FACCIÓN > *fasión*; LECCIÓN > *lesión*; PERFECTO > *perfeto*. For the extent of either vocalization or silent consonants in the different New Mexico districts see §§ 176, 177, n. 1.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon is of universal occurrence in the modern Spanish dialects from Castilian down, see Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, p. 63; Cuervo, *Apuntaciones* § 818; Machado y Álvarez, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *El Poema del Cid*, *amos* 100, 104, 120, 142, 173, etc.; *Primera Crónica General*, *amas* 5, 8, *camiaron* 6, 15, 29; Juan Manuel, *Lucanor*, *amos* 141, 143, 153, 156, 228, *entreamos* 228, etc., but Old Spanish has also *ambidos, amidos*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *El Dialecto Leonés* p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City* § 30.

<sup>5</sup> We have mentioned the universal aversion to the Latin groups *ct, cs, cc, x, gn, mn, ns*, in the Romance languages. The modern dialects still rebel against them when the literary language introduces them and hence the vocalizations, silent consonants, etc., in the modern dialects. For an erudite, concise, and comprehensive treatment of this matter in Old Spanish and in the Spanish of the XVth and



§ 180. *d*. The fall of *d* is very frequent in nearly all the Romance languages and dialects, and is an almost universal phenomenon in the Spanish dialects. What we have just said is especially true of intervocalic *d*.<sup>1</sup> The general laws governing the fall of *d* in New Mexico are:

1. Intervocalic *d* and in the group *dr* is usually silent in rapid speech: NADA > *náa* > *na*; PUEDO > *puéo*; NO DICE > *no ise*; PEDAZO > *peaso* > *piaso*; CADA > *cáa*; PADRE > *pare*; CUADRAN > *cuaran*.

2. ADO > *ao* > *au*: SOLDADO > *soldau*; COMPRADO > *comprau*; AMADO > *amau*; CONRADO > *Conrau*; LADO > *lau*, etc.

3. Intervocalic *d* + vowel, falls in: *Gualupe* > GUA(DA)LUPE; *íntico* > I(DÉ)NTICO (§ 36).

It is not necessary to enumerate the regions where intervocalic *d* falls in the modern Spanish dialects. So far as I know, it is a phenomenon almost universal in the dialects, both in Spain and America. All who write on dialects speak of it, and in all dialect literature it is at once manifest. ADO > *ao* > *au* is also very general, but *ao* seems to remain in some regions.<sup>2</sup>

4. Final *d* is always silent: *usté*, *verdá*, *salú*, *virtú*, *bondá*, etc. This phenomenon is as general as the fall of intervocalic *d* and it is useless to enumerate the different countries, for very few exceptions would be found.<sup>3</sup>

XVIIth centuries, when the literary language accepted the very changes which are to-day considered vulgar, see Cuervo, *Disquisiciones, sobre antigua ortografía y pronunciación castellanas*, Article 2, *Revue Hispanique* vol. V, pp. 273 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Intervocalic Latin *d*, and also in the group *dr* became *ɖ* at the end of the Vulgar Latin period, in Spain, Gaul, Rhaetia, Northern Italy, Sardinia, see Grandgent, *V. L.*, § 283, and the *ɖ* ultimately fell altogether, in the majority of common words. In French intervocalic *d*, and in *dr* intervocalic, fell in the beginning of the XIIth century, Nyrop I, §§ 391, 394, before consonants, and in other groups, later. In Provençal, this Vulgar Latin *ɖ* fell in the north and east by the XIth century, Grandgent, *O. P.*, § 65. In Old Spanish intervocalic *d*, primary or secondary fell very early, but it was also preserved in many words, the law not being a fixed one, and in many instances the results are not clear, see Baist, *Grundriss*, 896-897. In Portuguese the intervocalic Latin *d* is practically lost in all cases, see Cornu, *Grundriss* I, 988, and also in early Catalan, Morel-Fatio, *Grundriss* I, 859-860. In Roumanian, Sicilian, Southern Provençal, Tuscan Italian, etc., the same phenomenon occurred also, Meyer-Lübke I, § 436.

<sup>2</sup> See Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, p. 67 and note 2.

<sup>3</sup> The exceptions are when final *d* becomes *z* (English *th*, in *thin*) in Castilian: *Madrid*, *Saluz*, etc.; *l* in Salamanca *salul*, *madril*, etc.

When in the beginning of the XVIIth century (1626) Gonzalo Correas states, speaking of the consonant *d* (*Arte Grande*, p. 26) „yo considero en esta letra

§ 181. *g*. *g* is, as a rule, silent in the group *gn*. In a few instances it has also disappeared in the groups *gl*, *gr*, and when intervocalic.

1. *GN* > *n*. In the group *gn*, the fall of *g* is general: IGNORANTE > *inorante*; IGNACIO > *Inasio*; BENIGGO > *Benino*; DIGNO > *dino*; SIGNO > *sino*; MAGNÍFICO > *manífico*; RESIGNAR > *resinar*, etc. While Latin *gn* became *ñ* generally in Old Spanish, SĪGNO > *seño*, DĪGNO > *deño*, LĪGNO > *leño*, etc., it generally became *n* after the XVth century, when introduced through semi-learned influences, and the popular speech of to-day pronounces *n* for *gn* in all cases where it had not already become *ñ* in Old Spanish and when the literary language writes *gn*.<sup>1</sup> This reduction of *GN* > *n* which began since the XVth century in Spanish, and which was later written *gn* by the learned, is found to-day in New Mexico, Mexico, Andalusia, Asturias, Vizcaya, Santander, Aragón, Castile, Buenos Ayres,<sup>2</sup> etc. In Galicia the group *gn* is also often *ñ* as in Old Spanish. This phenomenon also occurs in New Mexican Spanish, and it is not infrequent in Classic Spanish, see § 149.

The history of *gn* in the Romance languages has had very divergent destinies since early times. In Sardinian *GN* > *gn*, in Roumanian *mn*, French and Spanish *ñ*, also later *n*,<sup>3</sup> Portuguese *ñ* (*ny*),<sup>4</sup> etc. The divergency of the development began in Vulgar Latin.<sup>5</sup>

2. *GL*, *GR* > *l*, *r*: GLORIA > *loria*; GRANDE > *rande*; IGLESIA > *ilesia*; SIGLO > *silo*. In other words this phenomenon is rare. The fall of *g* in Latin initial *gl* is found in the Spanish *landre*, *lirón*, *latir*, *lera* (Santander).<sup>6</sup> Cf. also *ilesia* Santa Teresa 19, 20, 29, 46,

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*otro sonido diferente en medio i fin, de cuando está en principio, que se haze mas estendida la lengua en ancho, i apartada de los dientes de arriba*," he speaks, no doubt, of a very weak medial and final fricative *ɟ*, which was since early times, probably silent in spoken Spanish. In fact, forms without final *d* occur since the XIIIth century (M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 63, note 3), and are frequent in the XVth century, where the literary language to-day has a final *d* in all cases: Lucas Fernández, *verdá* 124, 165, *unida* 201, *trinidad* 201, *maldá* 223; Sanchez de Badajóz, *verdá* 122, 158, 172. See also Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, p. 532.

<sup>1</sup> Cuervo, *Disquisiciones* II, pp. 277-278.

<sup>2</sup> See Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 57; Munthe, *Anteckningar*, p. 41; Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, p. 310; Cuervo, *ut supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer-Lübke I, § 465.

<sup>4</sup> Morel-Fatio, *Grundriss* I, 994.

<sup>5</sup> Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 269.

<sup>6</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 39, 2.

and used in many parts of Spain to-day.<sup>1</sup> GR > r is a phenomenon which began in Vulgar Latin.<sup>2</sup>

3. Intervocalic *g* falls: LUEGO > *lueo*; HAGO > *ao*; ME GUSTA > *me usta*; BUÉGALE > *ruéale*, etc.<sup>3</sup>

§ 182. Silent *l*. 1. Before *b*: ALBRICIAS > *abrisias*; ALBERJÓN > *aberjón*.

2. Before *c*: DULCE > *duse*; ALCABO > *acabo* > *cabo* (> *cao*, *co*).

3. Before *p*: PALPABLE > *papable*.

4. Initial: LÁPIZ > *apis*.

5. *anguia* (ANGUILA) is an Old Spanish and Portuguese form, which shows an early development of palatal *ɫ* < Latin LL > *y*, and then becomes silent. The Spanish *anguila* is not regular. Lat. ANGÜILLĀ > *anguita*, should give Spanish *anguilla*.

*Duce* dates from Vulgar Latin times, was used in Old Spanish literature, and is everywhere popular to-day.<sup>4</sup> LÁPIZ > *ápis*, is due to the article *el*: EL LÁPIZ > *elapis* > *el apis*, see § 188, note.

§ 183. *n*. *n* is always lost in Mexican Spanish in the group *mn*, and in *ns* + one or more consonants.

1. NM > *m*: CONMIGO > *comigo* (Old Spanish); INMENSO > *imenso*; INMORTAL > *inortal*; INMACULADA > *imaculada*; SIN MÁS > *simás*, etc. Latin initial IMM < IN + M > *inn* in modern, Spanish *inmortal*, *inmóvil*, etc. The modern *nm*, however, may be a dissimilation of *nm*, which reduced to *m* was probably the Spanish pronunciation since early times. *nm* and not *nm* is found in the initial group in Nebrija, *inmortal*, *immenso*, etc., and thus, was Latin initial *imm* represented in Spanish till the end of the XVIth century, and even later. Latin *nm* gave *m* in nearly all the Romance languages. The New Mexican *m* for Castilian *nm*, therefore may be the preservation of the regular popular development in Old and Classic Spanish, and not a development of INM > *m*, though this is not phonetically impossible.<sup>5</sup>

2. NS + cons. > *s* + cons.: *mostro*, *costante*, *costitusión*, *estrumeto*, *estinto*, *istrusión*, *trasponer*, *cospirar*, *trasplanter*, etc. This phenomenon is found also in Mexico, Galicia, Asturias, Bogotá, Costa Rica (Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 70), Aragón (*Canc. Popular Turolense*, 636, 723),

<sup>1</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 774; Machado y Álvarez, 21, 110, 113.

<sup>2</sup> Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 270.

<sup>3</sup> Very common, also in Andalusia (Machado y Álvarez).

<sup>4</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, p. 546.

<sup>5</sup> The extent of *m* for *nm* in the Spanish dialects is either limited or ignored. I find no mention of it in the standard works on Spanish Dialectology.

Andalusia, Vizcaya (Mugica, *Dial. Cast.*, 41), see also § 49. The fall of *n* before *s* was a general law in Vulgar Latin.<sup>1</sup>

3. Sporadic cases of silent *n*: a) before *v*: INVIERNO = *ivierno*. This is undoubtedly a preservation of the Old Spanish *ivierno*, *yvierno* < Latin HIBERNŪS > French *hiver*, Catalán *ivern*, Prov. *iverns*. The modern Spanish *invierno*, Italian *inverno*, etc., show an epenthetic *n* by analogy to the numerous prefixes *in* + cons. In New Mexico, *imbierno* < Castilian INVIERNO, is also used, the pronunciation perhaps also of the Castilian word.

b) Final *n* silent: BELÉN > (\*Belé) > *Belé*.

c) N + R > rr: TAN + prefix, RE > *tarre*.

For the fall of *m* or *n*, leaving nasal vowels, see Nasal Vowels §§ 20-30. The almost universal reduction of *mn* to *n* is also the law in New Mexico: *coluna*, *onipotente*, etc.

§ 184. *p*. *p* is, as a rule, silent in New Mexican Spanish when grouped with a following consonant, but it may also become vocalized to *i* or *u*, probably by analogy to real voiced *p* in Spanish, or other voiced consonants, see §§ 175-177. Examples: *adatar*, *adotar*, *atitú* (*autitú*), *suscripción*, *sétimo*, *setiembre*; (ECLIPSE) > *eclis* > *clis*. This phenomenon is found in popular Spanish everywhere, and it is even invading the speech of the cultured and educated.<sup>2</sup> The group *ps* > *s* is a general law in Romance and in some parts of Italy, Vulgar Latin *ps* had become *s* as early as the first century.<sup>3</sup>

§ 185. *r*. *r* is silent in New Mexico under the following conditions:

1. Final *r* of the infinitive is always silent before *l*: HABLARLE > *hablale*; VERLO > *velo*; DARLE > *dale*; ESCRIBIRLES > *escribiles* etc.<sup>4</sup> This phenomenon is found to-day in Asturias Santander, Miranda, Extremadura,<sup>5</sup> Andalusia,<sup>6</sup> Aragón.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 171.

<sup>2</sup> See Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, 65-66.

<sup>3</sup> Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 313. *Ps* is preserved in Roumanian and may become *is* in Portuguese and Spanish, Meyer-Lübke I, § 458.

<sup>4</sup> It has not been possible for me to make at the present time a complete study of *r + l* > *ll* in Old and Classic Spanish, as in: Don Quixote I, *ponello* 48, *hazelle* 36, *respondelle* 40, etc. In Juan Ruiz, Copla 448, *traella* is in rhyme with *della querella*, *ella*, etc. But if in Classic Spanish *ll* was not palatal when from *rl*, but a simple *l*, then the modern *r + l* > *l* is only a survival of the same development. That *ll* was often written in Classic Spanish for simple *l* is well known. Cf. Villagrà, *illustre* 15, 20; Mira de Mesqua (*Com. Fam.*), *illustre* 25.

<sup>5</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *El Dial. Leonés*, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Schuchardt, *Die Cantes Flamencos*, 318.

<sup>7</sup> *Cantas Baturras*, 13, 27, 31, 100.

2. Intervocalic *r* may fall in all words in rapid speech and less frequently also final unobstructed *r*: *sombreo*, *quieo*, *mía* > (MIRA), *paa* > *pa*, *peo* < (PERO), *hubiea*, *compraon*, *jueon* < (FUERON) etc., *pa comprá*, *quió comprá* etc. The fall of intervocalic *r*, general in New Mexico; is very common in all parts of Spain, especially in Andalusia, and the loss of final *r* is also frequent in Spain and America.<sup>1</sup>

3. In the group *rpre* the second *r* is lost by dissimilation and simplification: INTÉRPRETE > *entérete*, *enterpetar* etc.

§ 186. *s*. The different sounds which *s* may represent in New Mexican Spanish have been already treated in § 111, 153, 154. As we have said in § 154, the aspirate sound of *s*, (*h*), may often disappear in rapid speech. Before *l*, *n*, *m*, *r*, it nearly always disappears: TODOS LOS DIAS > *todo lo zias*; LOS LOCOS > *lo locoh*; LAS MANOS > *la manoh*, or *lah mano*; CON LOS NIÑOS > *cõ lo niñoh*; MUSLO > *muhlo*, or *mulo*; DOS REALES > *do reales*; LOS RICOS > *lo ricos*. The phenomenon *s* > *h* is a development found in all Spanish countries, see §§ 153, 154, and its complete fall before *l*, *n*, *r* is attested for nearly all the Spanish dialects,<sup>2</sup> and in New Mexico also before *m*, as in Old French. Although the dialects do not show exactly parallel developments, the principles do not differ substantially from general laws already established for other languages. Compare, Indo-European *s* > *h* and its disappearance in Greek, etc.<sup>3</sup>

§ 187. *y*. *y*, whether from Spanish *ll*, or Spanish *y* may fall when intervocalic: VAYA > *vaa*; RAYA > *raa*; CALLA > *caya*, *caa* etc. See § 158 and notes, where some of these phenomena are treated in full.<sup>4</sup>

## Chapter IV. Various phonetic changes.

### I. Addition of Sounds.

#### Prosthesis.

##### a) Vowels.

§ 188. Prosthesis of *a* is common in Mexican Spanish: SERRÍN > *aserrín*; CUAL > *acual*; LEZNA > *alesna*; TAIMADO > *ataimado*;

<sup>1</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 753; Machado y Alvarez, 58, 65, 82, etc. *Quies* < QUIERES, etc., found in Encina, Naharro, Lope de Rueda, Góngora, Cervantes, etc., is the result of the fall of intervocalic *r*, QUIERES > *quíees* > *quies*, and not QUIERS > *quies* (*rs* > *s*), as Baist believes, *Grundriss* I, 905.

<sup>2</sup> See Marden, *ut supra*; Meyer-Lübke I, §§ 549-568; Nyrop I, §§ 460-465; Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §§ 758, 759.

<sup>3</sup> Brugmann, *Abrégé de Gram. Comp.*, § 286.

<sup>4</sup> See also *y* introduced to break hiatus, § 97.

PROBAR > *aprobar*; PAREAR > *apariar*; MONTAR > *amontar*; PODAR > *apodar*; RENTAR > *arrentar*; CONFORME > *aconforme*; FIGURARSE *afigurarse*; SEGÚN > *asigún*; REMEDAR > *arremedar*.<sup>1</sup>

I have found no instances of prosthetic *e*, *i*, *o*, or *u*.

b) Consonants.

§ 189. Prosthetic *d*, in ES, EX > *des* is found in a few words by analogy to the common prefix *des*: ESTENDER > *destender*; EXAMINAR *desaminar*; ESTORNUDAR > *destornudar*; EXAGERAR > *desagerar*. In these and in many other words the confusion exists in many dialects, and even in standard Spanish are found the double forms *escampado*, *descampado*; *espejar*, *despejar*; *escabullirse*, *descabullirse* etc., all accepted by the Spanish Academy.<sup>2</sup>

§ 190. By analogy to Old Spanish aspirate *h* > *j* [x] as, HONDO < *jondo*, HERVIR > *jervir* etc., see §§ 122, 139, prosthetic *j* is found in some words: OSO > *joso*;<sup>3</sup> OLOLOTE > *jololote*; ERRAR > *jerrar* (to miss, to fail).

c) Syllables.

§ 191. *em*, *en*, are prefixed to some verbs, in all forms: (In Santa Fé and in Albuquerque), PRESTAR > *emprestar*, CREER > *encrer*,<sup>4</sup> and everywhere in New Mexico are found, TENGAS, TENGA, TENGAN etc., > *entengas*, *entenga*, *entengan* (when used as mild commands only). By analogy to formal imperatives of the first conjugation (subjunctives in form), one also hears *entengue*, *entenguen*.

<sup>1</sup> It would be an endless task to trace the history of each one of these words in Spanish and in the Spanish dialects. Prosthetic vowels are not rare in Spanish, cf. *abedul*, *atajar*, *amenazar*, *avispa*, etc., and in the modern dialects many of the New Mexican forms occur, and others also. The reasons are various and divergent, and for the most part, syntactical, and from agglutination with articles, prepositions, etc. In New Mexico *la lesna* > *l'alesna*, whence *alesna* (see also Espinosa, *Los Comanches*, note 108); *asigún* < *Á SEGÚN* (see Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 373); *acual* < *Á CUAL*; PODAR > *apodar* by contamination with *apoyar*, etc. Some of the verb forms with prosthetic *a* are due to emphasis and analogies to prefixes with *a*, etc. For prosthetic vowels in French, due to agglutination with articles, etc., see Nyrop I, § 490, and Meyer-Lübke I, § 383.

<sup>2</sup> See Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 917.

<sup>3</sup> See *Los Comanches*, p. 44, note 56.

<sup>4</sup> *Emprestar* is found in Spanish since the XIIIth century, *Poema del Cid*, *emprestar* 3248; and is frequent later, *Corvacho*, *emprestar* 13, 279, Torres Naharro I, *emprestada* 22, 112 (see also Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 592). *Enantes* < *ANTES*, with the prefix *en* and also *endenantes*, both frequent in Old and Classic Spanish are also heard in New Mexico. In Asturias are found the forms *emprincipiar*, *encumenzar* (Munthe, *Anteckningar*, p. 55). *Encreyente*, occurs in Lope de Rueda, *Obras*, 20, 27, 31, 32, 58.

§ 192. The intensive *re*, *rede*, *rete*, are very frequently prefixed to adjectives and adverbs: *retegüeno*, *murregüeno*, *murredegrande*, *rederrico*, *reterresio*, etc. This is of frequent occurrence in Mexico, Bogotá (Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 4).

The repetition of the initial syllable is not infrequent in New Mexico (Dittology); TIRITAR > *titiritar*; CACAREAR > \**cacacariar* > *cacarquear* (dissimilation); DE VERAS > *de de veras*.

### Epenthesis.

#### a) Vowels.

§ 193. When the groups *cl*, *gl*, *gr*, *lg*, are found immediately before or after the tonic vowel, they are usually broken up in New Mexican Spanish, and an epenthetic vowel appears.

1. GL > *gal*: INGLATERRA > *Ingalaterra*, *Ingalatierra*.
2. CL > *cul*: CLUECA > \**culueca* > *culeca*.
3. CL > *quil*: FRANKLIN > *Franquilín*.
4. GR > *guer*: TIGRE > *tiguere*.
5. LG > *lug*: INDULGENCIA > *indulgencia*.

The forms *Ingalaterra*, *indulgencia* occur also in Andalusia, Buenos Aires, Bogotá (Cuervo, *Apunt.* § 794). In Andalusia there is also a form, *indilugencia* (Schuchardt, *Die Cant. Flam.* 311), which is a case of dissimilation from an older *indulgencia*. *Culeco* occurs in Bogotá and Aragón. All these cases present a liquid grouped with a velar explosive which are not easy to pronounce in one group. The distance between the places of articulation requires a short pause between the two sounds and an epenthetic vowel easily develops. As to the vowel developed, the neighboring tonic vowel has the more influence. The influence of *u* calls for *u* in *indulgencia*, etc.

Anaptixis was not infrequent in Old Spanish, cf. *corónica*, *Ingalaterra*, etc. *Ingalaterra* is frequent in Classic Spanish: Rouanet IV, 24; *Don Quixote* I, 31, 47, 174. See also *Los Comanches* p. 42, n. 29. In Latin, anaptixis was also frequent, especially in the groups *cl*, *gr*<sup>1</sup> and it was a wide spread phenomenon in Oscan.<sup>2</sup> Compare however, the opposite development of Latin posttonic CULA > *cla*, CULU > *clu*, GULA > *gla*, TULA > *tila* etc., in Vulgar Latin and Romance.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Giles, *Man. of Comp. Phil.*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> See Buck, *Gram. Osc-Umb*, §§ 79-81.

<sup>3</sup> See Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, §§ 234, 284, and Meyer-Lübke I, §§ 487-493.

By influence of the palatal character of  $g + r + a$  following  $i$ , the group *agr* has become *aigr*, in; *AGRIO* > *aigrío* (also *aigro*); *AGRIMENSOR* > *aigrimensor*. Compare *AIR* > *aigr*, below.

b) Consonants.

§ 194. On account of the velar character of  $a + i + r$ , *ÁIR* > *aigr*, in: *AIRE* > *aigre*; *DESAIRE* > *desaigre*; *AIRIAR* > *aigríar*; *AIRÓN* > *aigrón*; *DONAIRE* > *donaigre*.

For epenthetic  $g, y$ , introduced to break hiatus see § 97. For epenthetic  $m, n$ , or as mere signs of nasality, see § 34. For a parasitic  $g$  before *ue*, whether initial, medial or after  $r$ , see § 140.

§ 195. By analogy to the verb forms *traiga* (also Old Spanish *traya*), *caiga* etc., there are also found the following forms in New Mexican Spanish, with parasitic  $g$ : *haiga* etc., *veiga*, *creiga*, *creigo*, *juigo* (HUYO), *vaiga* (VAYA), *tuigo* (TUYO, verb), etc. The forms are for the most part frequent also in Bogotá etc.,<sup>1</sup> and in Classic Spanish were used, *haiga*, *vaiga*, *huiga*, *destruigo*, *restituigo*.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, many modern forms with  $g$  appeared without it in Old and Classic Spanish, *trayo*, *cayo*, *cayan*, *oyo* etc. *Roer* has in modern Spanish, *royo*, *roigo*; *roa*, *roya*, *roiga* etc. See also § 83, 2.

§ 196. Epenthetic  $l$  may appear before or after  $g, r, t$ , in: *INDAGAR* > *indalgar*; *RIO ARRIBA* > *Rialriba*; *VA QUE* > *valque* (also *VA* > *val*, exclamation); *HASTA ALLÍ NO MÁS* > *astal ái nomás*.

§ 197. Before  $q, t$ , an epenthetic  $r$  or  $s$  appears in: ( $r$ ) *PAQUETE* > *parquete*, *PELAGATOS* > *pelagarto(s)*; ( $s$ ) *JESUÍTA* > *jesuista*, *REQUISITO* > *resquisito*. In the last two words there seems to be influence of  $s$ , progressive and regressive respectively.

### Epithesis.

a) Vowels.

§ 198. The following nouns (all feminines in New Mexico) have an epithetic  $a$ , probably by analogy to feminine nouns ending in  $a$  (after they were made feminines): *ARNÉS* > *arnesa*, (*las arnesas*); *ÁNSAR* > *ánsara*; *AZÚCAR* > *asúcara*. The change of gender was due to agglutination with the article, *EL AZÚCAR* > *l' azúcar* > *la (a)zucar* > *l(a) asúcara*, see § 188.

§ 199. Epithetic  $e$ , which is probably of Galician or Western Gallego-Portuguese source, is said to be common in southeastern

<sup>1</sup> Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 257.

<sup>2</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 113.



Colorado<sup>1</sup> and also in western New Mexico: MALDAD > *maldade*; BOTÓN > *botone*; CUAL > *cuale*, etc. My own observations do not confirm the existence of this phenomenon in New Mexico, except in very rare cases, which are not worth while considering. I have found it, however, somewhat frequent in the Mexican State of Nuevo León. For epithetic *e* after the English explosives, *c*, *g*, *k*, *p*, *t*, in words borrowed from English, see Chapter V, § 239.

#### b) Consonants.

§ 200. After a final (usually a tonic) *a*, *o* or *e*, an *s* may be added to the following words (see also § 260): SOFÁ > *sofás*; PAGARÉ > *pagarés*; ENRIQUE > *Anriques*; OYE > *oyes* > *oyis* (by analogy to second person singular, ending in *s*). *Relós* is probably directly from the Old Spanish *relox* (modern Castilian *reloj* or *reló*).

Epithetic *n* appears in *nadien*, *naidien*, *nayen* < NADIE. The second person singular, preterite, *ates* = *aste*, *ites* = *iste*, *comites*, etc., is not a phonetic development. The final *s* is undoubtedly added by analogy to the other second persons ending in *s*. The fall of the *s* before the *t* is not clear.

## II. Suppression of Sounds.

### Aphesis.

#### a) Vowels.

§ 201. Aphesis of *a* is common in New Mexican Spanish (see prosthesis of *a*, § 188): ALACENA > *lasena* (on account of LA ALACENA > *la (a)lacena* > *la lasena*), ARREBATAR > *rebatar*; AMERICANO > *Mericano*; AVERIGUAR > *veriguar* (Albuquerque), APERSOGAR > *persogar*; APUÑALAR > *puñaliar*; ACEMITE > *scmita*; APOSTEMILLA > *postemía*. The loss of the initial *a* is probably helped also by the distance from the accented syllable in words of more than two syllables.

§ 202. Initial *e* when atonic and removed from the accented syllable, especially in words of more than two syllables, falls as a rule, in New Mexican Spanish: EMITERIO > *Miterio*; ECLIPSE > *clis* (in *Don Quixote*, *cris*); EDUVIGES > *Duvides*, *Duwigén*; ENOJARSE > *nojarse*; EZEQUIEL > *Sequiel*, ESE, ESTE, ESTOS > '*se*', '*ste*', '*stos*', when used as proclitics. In the verb *estar*, the *e* or *es* may drop, the rule being: after a consonant the full form appears, *Juan está bien*; after a vowel, *stá*, etc., *no stá*, ¿*qué stas haciendo?*; initial, *ta*, *tán*, etc., *ta güeno*; ¿*ta aquí tu padre?* Of course the full form may be used

<sup>1</sup> Hills, *New Mexican Spanish*, 724.

at all times. These phenomena are not rare in the XVth and XVIth centuries: *Cancionero Inédito*, *namorado*, 21; Lucas Fernández, EN > n (both after vowels and consonants), *nel* 158, *num* < (EN UN) 170, *sperar* 44, 205, *sposa* 33, etc.; *Corvacho*, *noramala* 65, 92, 119, 212; Juan del Encina, *namorado* 90, 129, 131 (after voc. or cons.), *noramala* 59, 235, 251, 405, *nel* 192, 238, *norabuena* 15, 89, 259, *sta*, *staba*, *ste*, etc., (both after voc. and cons.), 230, 232, 246, 253, etc.; Sanchez de Badajóz, *noramala* 89, 174, 201, *norabuena* 61, 205, *namorado* 142, *nojáis* 143, *nojado* 354; T. Naharro (both after voc. and cons.), *sta*, *stáis*, etc. 168, 207, 209, 230.

b) Consonants. See §§ 178-187.

c) Syllables.

§ 203. The initial syllable falls in a few words of frequent use, when atonic, the proclitic value of the word being frequently the cause of the apheresis: HERMANO > *mano*; ESTÁN > *tan*; HIGINIO > *Jiño*; ESTANQUE > *tanque*; ANTONIO > *Toño*; VOLTÉATE > *téate*; CRISTÓBAL > *Tóbal*; ILDEFONSA > *Lifonsa*; CUCHITRIL > \**chitril* > *trochil*; SEÑORA > *ñora*; SEÑOR > *ñor*. Some of these words may show other developments, see §§ 28, 29, 84. These phenomena are also frequent in other Spanish dialects, see Marden, (*The Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 7), Munthe (*Anteckningar*, p. 32), Cuervo (*Apuntaciones*, § 803).

### Syncope.

a) Vowels.

§ 204. Pre-intertonic *e*, *i*, *u*, fall in New Mexican Spanish:

*i*: MALEDICENCIA > *maldisensia*, SUPERINTENDENTE > *suprintendente*.

*e*: IMPOSIBILITADO > *imposiblitau*, IMPOSIBILIDAD > *imposiblidá*.

*u*: MANUTENCIÓN > *mantensión*. These words were primarily of learned source and the vulgar folk simplify them, following, in the main, old established laws. Compare the fall of medial pretonic vowels in Spanish, French, etc.<sup>1</sup> In *maldisensia*, *mantensión*, there may be influence of *maldecir*, *mantener*.

b) Consonants. See §§ 178-187.

c) Syllables.

§ 205. *Da* falls in: GUADALUPE > *Guaalupe* > *Gualupe* (often, *Lupe*). *De* falls in IDÉNTICO > \**iéntico* > \**íntico* > *íntico*. *Ram* falls in MEBAMENTE > *meente* > *mente*, also > *ente*.

<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 24; Nyrop I, § 254.

## Apocope.

## a) Vowels.

§ 206. Final *e* always falls in: CLASE > *clas*; BASE > *bas*; TULE > *tul*; ECLIPSE > *clis*.

§ 207. Final *o* is silent in: CHORIZO > *chorís*; CALABOSO > *calabós*; ÓPALO > *ópal*, *opal*; MERINO > *merín*; *vamo* (< VAMOS) > *vam* > *am*.

§ 208. If the imperative sing. ends in a consonant, *pon*, *ten*, *sal*, etc., the historical present is of like form, when followed by a pronoun: PONE LO > *ponlo*; SÁLESE > *salse*; HÁCEMELO > *hasmelo*.

b) Consonants. See §§ 178—187.

## c) Syllables.

§ 209. Apocope of a complete syllable is frequent in New Mexican Spanish. Among common examples are: HERMANO > *hermá*; PAPÁ > *pa*; PARA > *pa*; EN CASA > *ã cá*; COMPADRE > *compá*; MANO > *mã*; TIENEN > *tiên*; VAMOS > *vam*, *am* (when followed by an explosive *vam pan casa*, etc.). These changes go through many intermediate stages, most of which have been treated already in various parts of our work: PARA > *páa* > *pa*; TIENEN > *tiéen* > *tiên*; MANO *mão*, *mã*, *mõ*, etc.; COMPADRE > *compare* > *compac* > *compá*, etc. and in many instances some of the intermediate stages are as frequent as the final developments.

## III. Metathesis.

§ 210. Metathesis may of two kinds, simple or reciprocal. Simple metathesis is a mere change of position of a single vowel or consonant. Reciprocal metathesis is an exchange of position between two vowels or consonants not very far apart in the word. In the Romance languages these phenomena were of frequent occurrence, especially between liquids and nasals.<sup>1</sup>

§ 211. In New Mexican Spanish, metathesis is of frequent occurrence, and a slight examination of dialect literature reveals the

<sup>1</sup> For interesting material and explanations of this phenomenon in the more important Romance tongues, see Nyrop I, §§ 516-518; Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 67; Morel-Fatio, *Grundriss* I, 995-996; Meyer-Lübke I, §§ 575-584; Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, §§ 792-793; Grandgent, *Old Provençal*, § 86; Nigra, *Matatesi*, *Zeitschrift* XXVIII, 1-10; and lastly, the important work of M. Grammont, *La dissimilation consonantique dans les langues indo-européennes et dans les langues romanes*, Dijon 1895.

fact that many cases of metathesis such as *probe*, *naide*, *frábica*, *Grabiél*, the prefix *pre* > *per* and vice versa, *ciu* > *sui*, etc., are common to all Spanish dialects.<sup>1</sup>

§ 212. Simple metathesis is found in:

a) CONSONANTS: *probe*, *presistir*, *cabresto*, *perdenal*, *frábica*, *ajuero* < (A(G)UJERO), *perferir*, *Grabiél*, *culeca*, *prefeto*, *sevir* (SERVIR), etc.

b) VOWELS: *estauta*, *idomia*, *mopio* < (MIOPE), *rieso*, *graudar*, *intuato* < *intauto* < INTACTO.

§ 213. Reciprocal metathesis occurs in:

a) CONSONANTS: ALGAZARA > *algarasa*, *redetir*, *redamar*, *estógamo*, *humadera*, *morrodo*, *patronisar* (English?), *pader*, *caraquiar*.

b) VOWELS: *suidá*, *dairio* < CIUDAD, DIARIO.

§ 214. In the third person plural of the present subjunctive when used as an imperative with a following pronoun which ends in a vowel, the final *n* of the verb leaves its position and appears finally after the pronoun, apparently by analogy to third person plural forms ending in *n*. Examples: *váyanse* > *váyasen*; *díganme* > *dígamen*; *denme* > *demen*; *dense* > *desen*; *denle* > *delen*; *háganme* > *hágamen*. Less frequently one may also hear both *n*'s: *váyanse* > *váyansén*; *siéntense* > *siéntensen*; *haganme* > *háganmen*; *pónganle* > *pónganlen*, etc.

*engualde* < EN LUGAR DE, shows first a transposition between *l* and *g*; EN LUGAR DE > *en gular de*, and then either the New Mexican Spanish form *engualde*, or the XVth century *en guar de* found in *Corvacho* 122, 140.

## Chapter V. Phonetic changes in words of English origin.<sup>2</sup>

### I. Accent.

§ 215. Spanish accentuation is strong and well defined. Although there is practically no slurring of vowels, and all syllables are pronounced with even fullness, the syllable bearing the tonic accent is the all important one. It is the accented vowel that influences the preceding and following vowels; it becomes strengthened by

<sup>1</sup> *Naide*, *niervos*, *Grabiél*, *catreddá*, *probe*, *hiproquesia*, etc., occur in the literature of the classic period; see also Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, § 793.

<sup>2</sup> The number of words borrowed directly from the English and in common use among New Mexicans is about 200. See § 6.

diphthongization, etc., and it is never to be overlooked in the study of phonetic change. In fact, accent was well marked in Latin, having become predominantly a stress accent in Vulgar Latin, and in passing into the Romance Languages, the tonic vowels are always preserved, though often changed. Even in modern French, which of all the Neo-Latin tongues, has probably gone the farthest in its phonetic development, we have a fundamental and general law that the initial and tonic syllables remain, whatever changes they may suffer. In New Mexican Spanish, the accentuation has changed little from that of XVIth century Spanish, and the changes found are for the most part in harmony with developments begun in Old Spanish. This applies particularly to the laws governing the destinies of contiguous vowels. See Chapter I, Accent §§ 7-12.

§ 216. English accentuation is fundamentally different. The tonic syllable is not only the all important one, but often the tonic vowel alone is distinctly pronounced, the atonic vowels being frequently slurred and often not heard at all. Again, the primary and secondary accent are sometimes clear and well marked *contrádict*, *pártiality*, *rótación*, etc. This is true also in Spanish but to a very slight degree. In English, emphasis may also change the original word accent entirely: *I see him* = *I SEE im* or *I see HIM*.

§ 217. In changing from English into New Mexican Spanish, words usually retain the original accent: STEAK > *esteque*, BUGGY > *bogue*; FINE > *fain*; LUNCH > *lonchi*; SPEECH > *espichi*, etc. This is true of the majority of nouns. The following differences, however, should be noted:

1. Words of more than two syllables are all made oxytones: SHOTGUN > *šotegón*; FIREMAN > *fayamán*; PICNIC > *piquenic*; OATMEAL > *otemil*, etc.

2. The distinction of two accents is entirely lost: ICE-CREAM > *aicrím*; HIGH-TONED > *jaitún*; HOLD ON > *jolón* 'insult', etc.

3. Verbs always add *-iar* in the infinitive, and the accent is necessarily shifted: (to) CHEK > *chequiar*; (to) CRACK > *craquiar*; (to) DRILL > *riliar*; (to) FOOL > *fuliar*, etc.

4. In some nouns where a Spanish ending is attached, the Spanish accent prevails: BLUFFER > *blofero*; SWITCHMAN > *suichero*; PILER > *pilero*; SHOOTER > *šutiador*, etc.

II. Vowels.<sup>1</sup>

## a) Tonic vowels.

§ 218. English tonic ǎ, ä, à > New Mexican Spanish *a*.

1. ǎ > *a*: CRANKY > *cranque*; HACK > *jaque*; TRAMP > *trampe*; SHANTY > *šante*; SCRATCH > *escrachi*.

2. ä > *a*: CHARGE > *chacha* (*chachar*); SMART > *esmart*; YARD > *yarda*.

3. à > *a*: CHANCE > *chansa*.

§ 219. English tonic ʌ, after *c, g, k* > New Mexican Spanish *ja*: KANSAS > *Quianses*; CANDY > *quiande*; GANG > *gianguę*.

The velar quality of these consonants in the initial position requires an increased effort on the part of the New Mexicans, and this gives rise to a palatal *i* before the tonic *a*.

§ 220. English tonic ā > New Mexican Spanish *ę*:<sup>2</sup> BRAKE > *breca*; CRAZY > *crese*; CAKE > *queque*; BAKE > *reque*; STEAK > *esteque*; MARY > *Meręs*; GRAVY > *gręve*.

English tonic ǎ > New Mexican Spanish *i* in STAPLE > *estiple*.

§ 221. English tonic ʌ > New Mexican Spanish *o*: BASEBALL > *bęsbol*; CHALK > *choque*; SAWMILL > *şomil*; PSHAW > *şo*; ALL RIGHT > *olraitę*.

After *w*, English tonic ʌ > New Mexican Spanish *o*: QUARTER > *cuaraę*.

§ 222. English tonic ę > New Mexican Spanish *e* (see tonic ā > *e* § 220): CHECK > *cheque*; READY > *ređe*; WRECK > *reque*; SET > *setę*.

§ 223. English tonic ē > New Mexican Spanish *i*: SPEECH > *ępichi*; LEASE > *liš*; GREENBACK > *grimbaque*; POLICE > *polis*; ICE-CREAM > *aiscrim* (see also tonic ı > *i*, § 224 below).

§ 224. English tonic ı > New Mexican Spanish *ı* or *i* (see tonic ē > *i*, § 223): BILL > *bıl*; KICK > *quique*; SINK > *şinque*; DRILL > *rıl*; DRINK > *rinque* (noun). See atonic ı > *e* etc., § 235.

§ 225. English tonic i (= Sp. *ai*) > New Mexican Spanish *ai* (the *a* is more open in New Mexican Spanish): RIDE > *raide*; FINE > *fain*; STYLE > *ęstail*; STRIKE > *ęstraique*; SPIKE > *ęspaique*; HIGHTONED > *jaitún*.

<sup>1</sup> Webster's Dictionary has been used as authority for the English vowel sounds.

<sup>2</sup> The unphonetic appearance of many English letters makes it seem that there is an entirely new change, but the difference is very slight in many cases. Here there is only a change from a closed to an open *e*.

§ 226. English tonic  $\bar{i} + r$ , or tonic  $i + \sim$  > New Mexican Spanish, *aya* [ajá]: FIRE > *faya*; FIREMAN > *fayamán*; FLIER > *flaya*; LIAR > *laya*; TIE > (r. r.) *taya*. As is the case with the majority of English long vowels, especially when tonic, the English tonic *i* is here, practically the Spanish diphthong *ai* (see § 225). We have then, to begin with, the diphthong *ai*. In the case of  $\bar{i} + \bar{e}$ , we have *ai + a*, since English atonic  $\bar{e}$  > New Mexican Spanish *a* (see § 234), and [ajá] is the result. In  $\bar{i} + r$ , we have the same explanation, since in passing from *ai* to *r*, the English atonic  $\bar{e}$  is actually pronounced. For the silent *r* in *faya* etc., see § 262.

§ 227. English tonic  $\bar{o}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $\varphi$ : BOSS > *bos*; SHOTGUN > *šotegún*; SHOP > *šope*; > LOT > *lotē*. (See  $\bar{o}$  >  $\varphi$  or  $\varphi$  below).

§ 228. English tonic  $\bar{o}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $\varphi$  (in open syllables often  $\varphi$ ): BROKE > *broquis*; OAT MEAL > *otemil*; PORCH > *porchi*; PONY > *pone*; ROLLS > *roles*. Tonic  $\bar{o}$  > *u* in: HIGHTONED > *jaitún*; COAT > *cute*, on account of the closed character of the English tonic  $\bar{o}$ . It is to be observed, however, that English closed vowels often become the corresponding open vowels in New Mexican Spanish, as in the first examples given above.

§ 229. English tonic  $\bar{u}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $\varphi$ : FUN > *fún*; BUGGY > *bogue*; LUNCH > *lonchí* DUTCH > *dochi* (German); PUMP > *pompá*; PLUG > *plóga*. Compare  $\bar{u}$  >  $\varphi$  in Romance, and this  $\varphi$  >  $\varphi$  in many dialects and in modern Italian and Spanish.<sup>1</sup> Compare also Germanic  $\bar{u}$  >  $\varphi$  >  $\varphi$ : in Romance, Franconian HÜRDI > Old French *horde*, Old High German KÜPPHIA > Old Spanish *cofia* etc.

Tonic English  $\bar{u}$  > New Mexico Spanish *a* in GET UP > *guirap(e)*; HOW MUCH > *jamachi*; SHUT UP > *šarap(e)*.

§ 230. English tonic  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{oo}$  > New Mexican Spanish *u*: COON > *cun*; FOOL > *ful, jul*; COOKY > *cuque*; POOL > *pul*. See tonic  $\bar{u}$  > *u*, below.

§ 231. English tonic  $\bar{u}$  > New Mexican Spanish *u*: PULL > *pul*; SUIT > *sute*; PULLMAN > *pulman*.

§ 232. The tonic diphthongs *oi*, *au*, remain: BOILER > *boila*; ANYHOW > *enejáu*.

#### b) Atonic Vowels.

§ 233. English atonic  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{ä}$ ,  $\bar{á}$  > New Mexican Spanish *a*: BACK + IAR > *baqujar*; CRACK + IAR > *craquiar*; BALOON > *balún*; CABOOSE > *cabús*; CHARGE + AR > *chachar*.

<sup>1</sup> See Meyer-Lübke I, §§ 130, 135, 142 and 145-146.

§ 334. English atonic  $\bar{e}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $a$ : BOILER > *boila*;<sup>1</sup> QUARTER > *cuara*; SCRAPER > *escrapa*; DOLLAR > *dola*; WASHER > *gusa*; WRAPPER > *rapa*; SWEATER > *suera*; OVERALLS > *ovarjoles*; PARTNER > *parna*.

Atonic  $\bar{e}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $e$  in: SAILOR SUIT > *selesute*; CRACKER > *craque*.

§ 235. English atonic  $\bar{i}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $e$  (tonic  $\bar{i}$ , however, > New Mexican Spanish  $i$ , § 224): DISCHARGE + AR > *deschachar*; BISCUIT > *bisque*; WHIPPING > *juipen*; DRESSING SACK > *resensaque*.

Germanic  $\bar{i}$  tonic or atonic became  $e$  or  $\epsilon$  in Romance, see Kluge; Gröber's *Grundriss* I, 387 fol.

§ 236. English final atonic  $\bar{y}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $e$ , less frequently  $\epsilon$  (see also atonic  $\bar{i}$  >  $e$ , § 235): BUGGY > *bogue*; PONY > *pone*; COOKY > *cuque*; PENNY > *pen*; GRAVY > *greve*; MARY > *Mer*; SHANTY > *sante*.

§ 237. Sporadic development of other tonic and atonic vowels:

1. Atonic  $a$  > New Mexican Spanish  $\epsilon$ : CHRISTMAS > *Crismes*.
2. Atonic  $\bar{e}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $i$ : RECESS > *risés*.
3. Tonic  $\bar{i}$  > (Spanish *ai*) > New Mexican Spanish  $a$ : I'LL BET YOU > *albechy*. See also § 225.
4. Atonic  $\bar{o}$  > New Mexican Spanish  $y$ : FOOL > *iar* > *fuliar*, *juliar*; SHOOT + *iar* > *šutiar*.
5. Atonic  $ou$  (= Spanish *au*) > New Mexican Spanish  $a$ : HOW MUCH > *jamachi*. (See § 3).
6. Tonic  $\bar{o}$  > New Mexican Spanish *ai*: HARROW > *jaira*.

### c) Accessory Vowels.

§ 238. Prosthetic *e*. Initial *s* + cons, is foreign to the Spanish language and to the Romance Languages, generally. To such a Latin group *e* or *i* was prefixed in Vulgar Latin, and in Spanish *e* became general.<sup>2</sup> In accordance with this law, New Mexican Spanish has prosthetic *e* in all English words adopted, that begin with *s* + cons: STEAK > *esteque*; SMART > *esmart(e)*; STYLE > *estail*; SPEECH > *espichi*; STRIKE > *estrique*; SCRAPER > *escrapa*; SCRATCH > *escrachi*; STEPS (stairway) > *estepes*.

<sup>1</sup> For the final *r*, lost, see § 263.

<sup>2</sup> See Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 230; M. Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 39, 3; Carnoy, *Le Latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions*, p. 114; Nyrop I, §§ 461, 493. In French *es* became general, but the *s* later became silent, while in Italian, *e* prevailed generally.



§ 239. Epithetic *e*. Since Spanish and New Mexican Spanish words do not end in consonant stops or explosives, English words passing into New Mexican Spanish have an epithetic *e* after the final consonants, *b, c, g, k, p, t*: JOB > *ǰobɛ*; HACK > *jaqɛ*; SHOP > *ʃopɛ*; CHECK > *ʃeqɛ*; LOT > *lotɛ*; COAT > *cutɛ*; RIG > *rigɛ*.

§ 240. Epithetic *a*. Some nouns which have passed over into New Mexican Spanish as feminines do not add *e*, but *a*, the usual feminine ending in Spanish: PLUG > *ploga*; GANG > *ganga* (or *guiangue*); PUMP > *pompɑ*; TRUCK > *trɔcɑ*. See also § 260, 1.

§ 241. Epithetic *i*. English words ending in *ch* or *sh* have epithetic *i*, instead of *e* (§ 239) since final *e* after *ch, sh, ñ, ll, y*, becomes *i* in New Mexican Spanish (see § 47): LUNCH > *lonchi*; PORCH > *porchi*; DUTCH > *dɔchi*; SPEECH > *espɪchi*; SMASH > *ɛsmaʃi*.

§ 242. The syllabic English groups *bl, cl*, are unknown in Spanish and in passing over into New Mexican Spanish, they become pure consonants and an epithetic *e* appears: NICKEL > *nicle*; PICKLE > *picle*; STABLE > *ɛstɛblɛ*.

#### d) Consonantal, *ɣ, ʁ*.

§ 243. There is no essential difference between Spanish, New Mexican Spanish and English consonantal *ɣ* (see § 109), and English words that pass into New Mexican Spanish retain a consonantal *ɣ* unchanged: YARD > *ɣardɑ*; YELL > *ɣɛl*.

This *ɣ* may also become *ǰ, ʃ*, according to §§ 161, 162.

§ 244. English *ʁ* (< *u* or *w* when not initial) likewise does not differ essentially from the Spanish and New Mexican *ʁ* (see § 103) and hence it usually remains unchanged: QUARTER > *cuarɑ*; SWEATER > *sweɾɑ*; (to) QUIT + IAE > *cuɪtɪɑr*.

#### e) Initial *w*.

§ 245. Initial English *w* > *gʁ*, in New Mexican Spanish: WALK > *gʁoqu(e)*; WASHER > *gʁaʃɑ*; WILLIE > *Gʁilɛ*; WINCHESTER > *gʁin-ʃɛste*; WAIST > *gʁɛiste*; WYOMING > *Gʁayomɛn*. Compare *ue, hue* > *gʁie*, §§ 118, 123, 140.

We are here dealing practically with an old and well established law, since modern English initial *w* has the same sound as Germanic *w* which gave *gʁ*, in all the Romance languages, though *gʁ* later

<sup>1</sup> Compare the indistinct *e* added to the explosives in spoken French, Nyrop I, § 495.

often developed in some cases to simple *g*. We have given numerous examples of this development in Old and modern Spanish, and explained the reasons for the development in §§ 118, 123 etc., quoted above.<sup>1</sup>

### III. Consonants.

§ 246. The simple initial or medial consonants for the most part remain intact, the changes being found only in grouped consonants, which are foreign to New Mexican Spanish. As to *b*, *v*, *d*, *g*, these always follow the New Mexican pronunciations according to New Mexican rules, being either fricatives or explosives. The English labio-dental *v* has not passed over into New Mexican Spanish but is treated in the same manner as Spanish *v* (or *b*). The labio-dental *f* usually becomes New Mexican Spanish *j* [x], § 248. We shall now discuss the more important consonantal changes in detail.

#### a) Labials.

§ 247. *b*, *v*, *m*, *p* remain, as a rule, unchanged and are treated in the same manner as Spanish *b*, *v*, *m*, *p*. *v* is never labio-dental, but is explosive or bilabio-fricative, cf. § 246. This is strong proof that the XVIth century Spanish did not possess a labio-dental *v* as do the English and French. In fact the best phoneticians are of the opinion that the English and French labio-dental *v* does not exist in modern Castilian.<sup>2</sup> For final *b*, *p*, supported by an epithetic *e*, see § 239.

1. The group *NV* > *mb*: *CANVASSER* > *cambasiador* also *cambasiqr*.

§ 248. *F* > *j* [x]. Modern Castilian has a denti-labial *f*, found also in New Mexican Spanish. But in New Mexican Spanish, in the other Spanish dialects and perhaps also in Old Spanish (see §§ 100, 121, 122, 136, 139) there has always been a tendency to convert *f* into *j*. This was manifest in the change of initial Latin *f* into aspirate *h*, which later became silent in the cultivated speech. This matter has been discussed. It is only necessary to state here that this tendency in Spanish is not moribund and we see in New Mexican Spanish, the reworking of this old law which converts almost every English *f* into *j*, whether initial or medial. Examples: *FOOL* > *ful*, *jul*; *TELEPHONE* > *telefón* or *telejón*; *FUNNY* > *fone* or *jone*; *FELLOW* > *felo* or *jelo*.

<sup>1</sup> For a further study of this interesting phenomenon, see Nyrop I, § 454; Marden, *Sp. Dial. Mex. City*, § 27; Meyer-Lübke I, § 416; Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 344.

<sup>2</sup> Araujo, *Fonet. Kast.*, 39-43; Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 37, 2.

The intermediate stage, an aspirate [f̥] (§ 100) may also be heard in all the words mentioned, but the complete development to *j* is the more frequent. Some words retain the pure labio-dental *f*: BLUFFER > *blofero*; FINE > *fain* ( or *faine*).

#### b) Linguals.

§ 249. English *D* > New Mexican Spanish *r*. Initial and medial *d* becomes New Mexican Spanish *r* in: EVERYBODY > *evreboro*; LADY > *lere*; GOODBYE > *gurbái*; HOW DO YOU DO > Eng. *hadidoo* > *jarirú*. The English *d* in these words, as in many others, is very weak, being a mere flap of the upper front of the tongue against the upper gums, approaching the sound of the simple Spanish *r*, and hence the change is easy to explain. The dental stop *d* of the Spanish and New Mexican or the fricative inter-dental New Mexican *d* are evidently much unlike the English *d* of the above words, as ordinarily pronounced in careless speech.

§ 250. Initial *DR* > New Mexican Spanish *r*, [r̥] or [f̥] (see § 110): DRINK > *rinque*; DRILL > *ril*; DRESSING SACK > *resensaque*. Initial *dr* is not a familiar group in Spanish. The English consonant stop *d* + *r* is a forcible group, not unlike Spanish trilled *r*. The *r* sound assimilates completely the initial *d* and [r̥] or [f̥] is the result. See Spanish *DR* > [r̥], [f̥] after *l, n*, § 148, and *BR* > *dr*, §§ 146, 147.

Initial English *TR* > *r* [r̥], [f̥] also in TRAINGANG > *renganchi*.

§ 251. English *j*. Since the sound of English *j* is not unknown in New Mexican Spanish (see §§ 158, 159), English *j* remains unchanged: JELLY > *gele*; JIM > *gimes*; JOB > *gobe*; GEE WHIZ! > *gijús!*

§ 252. Final *g* (= English *j*) becomes in New Mexican Spanish *ch*: RANGE > *renchi*; CHARGE + IAR > *chachar*; GEORGE > *Chochi's* (initial English *g* > *ch*, also by influence of the last *ch*?). The sound of English *j* is found in New Mexican Spanish only in the initial position (see §§ 159, 251), and hence in the final position it is changed to the neighboring palatal [č].

§ 253. English *sh* (= *š*) is not foreign to New Mexican Spanish, being found in words of Nahuatl source, and in some Spanish words which probably had the sound of *š* in the XVIth century, see §§ 161, 163, 164, 165. English *š*, in any position, is therefore unchanged in New Mexican Spanish: SHANTY > *sante*; SHINE + IAR > *šainiar*; SMASH > *esmaši*; SHOPS > *šopes*; SHOTGUN > *šotegón*; PUSH > *puši*.

1. Final posttonic *sh*, however, has become simple Spanish *s* in: RADISH > *redeş* (Albuquerque); SHOTTISH > *šótis* or *šottis* (dissimilation).

§ 254. English voiced *s* and *z* are always changed to the simple voiceless New Mexican Spanish *s*: CRAZY > *creşe*; GREASER > *griso*; MRS. > *mişeş*; BUSINESS > *bisneş*.

§ 255. English *t* > New Mexican Spanish *r*: English medial *t* becomes simple *r* in New Mexican Spanish in: SWEATER > *şuera*; LAKE CITY > *Lequesire*; GET UP > *guerop*, *guirap(e)*. This English *t* is not a distinct *t*, but the weak English *d* of *good-bye*, etc., (§ 249), which becomes New Mexican Spanish *r*. The explanation is therefore the same.

### c) Velars.

§ 256. English *n* when before the velar consonants is a strong nasal-velar consonant, not unlike the Spanish and New Mexican [ŋ] when in the same position (see § 107). The nasal-velar quality of *n* in this position, is retained, therefore, though somewhat weaker: SINK > *sinke* [sĩŋkɛ]; CRANKY > *cranque* [krãŋkɛ]; DRINK > *rinque* [rĩŋkɛ]; GANG > *guiangue* [giãŋgɛ].

1. English *n*, before other consonants, is also slightly velar and nasal as in New Mexican Spanish. Consequently its nasal is also retained: LUNCH > *lonchi* [lõ:çi]; BUNCH > *bonchi* [bõ:çi]; WINCHESTER > *quincheste* [gũĩ:çeste].

§ 257. Final atonic English, ING > New Mexican Spanish *en*: SPELLING > *espelen*; WYOMING > *Guayomen*. Final New Mexican *n* is not nasal, unless obstructed by the initial consonant of a following word.<sup>1</sup>

§ 258. English *x* > New Mexican Spanish *s*: EXPRESS > *espres*.  
1. Final *x* > *que* [k]: MAX > *Maque(s)*.

### d) Pharyngeal *h*.

§ 259. There is no essential difference between English aspirate *h* and New Mexican Spanish *j* (*g + e, i*). Both have the value of a voiceless pharyngeal aspirate [x]. English *h* is therefore generally retained: HARROW > *jaira*; HELLO > *jaló*; HIGHTONED > *jaitún*; HACK > *jaque*; HOW MUCH > *jamach(i)*.

<sup>1</sup> Final *n* is said to be nasal-velar in Asturias, Andalusia, Estremadura, León, Galicia, Cuba, Canary Isles, Porto Rico, etc., (Meyer-Lübke I, § 568). See also E. C. Hills, *De Ortografía y Pronunciación Inglesas*, p. 12.

e) Parasitic Consonants.<sup>1</sup>

§ 260. Epithesis of *s*. New Mexican Spanish has a tendency to add a parasitic *s*, especially after tonic vowels: *sofá* > *sofás*; *ENRIQUE* > *Anriques*; *PAGARÉ* > *pagarés*, etc., see § 200. The same tendency appears again in some English proper nouns: *MARY* > *Merēs*; *JIMMY* > *Gimes*; *CHARLIE* > *Chales*.

1. To some words, *is* is added after the stops *c*, *k*: *GEORGE* *Chochis*; *BROKE* > *broquis* (see §§ 239, 240.)

## f) Silent Consonants.

§ 261. *d* final in a syllable has disappeared in: *HOLD ON* *jolon*; *SANDWICH* > *sánguichi*; *SIDEWALK* > *saiguoc(u)*. Dental *d* is very weak here. The development is back vowel + *nwi* or *wa* > *ngui*, *gwo*. See also §§ 118, 123, 140, 245. For final *d*, supported by epithetic *e*, see § 236.

§ 262. Final *m* of the posttonic syllable always falls<sup>2</sup>: *TRANSOM* > *transe*; *LINOLEUM* > *linolio*. Final (*l*)*n* falls in: *LINCOLN* > *Linco*.

§ 263. Final English *r* of a posttonic syllable always falls in New Mexican Spanish: *WRAPPER* > *rapq*; *CRACKER* > *craque*; *LIAR* > *layq*; *FIREMAN* > *faymán*; *WINCHESTER* > *guincheste*; *PARTNER* > *parnq*. The strong accentuation of the penultimate syllable in these English words which makes the final syllable a subordinate and unimportant one in pronunciation, causes the *r* to be very weak and therefore, it falls in New Mexican Spanish. In Spanish, furthermore, final *r* is, found as a rule, in an accented syllable and distinctly heard, unless it is assimilated to a following consonant, see § 185.

§ 264. Sporadic examples of silent consonants.

1. *RTN* > *rn*: *PARTNER* > *parnq*.
2. *RT* > *r*: *PARTY* > *pare*.
3. *R(T)W* > *rgu*: *SHIRTWAIST* > *šorgueiste*. The process here is *rtw* > *rw* > *rgu*. Compare Spanish *CIRUELA* > New Mexican Spanish *sirguela*, etc., see § 140.
4. *RL* > *l*<sup>3</sup>: *CHARLIE* > *Chales*.
5. *RT* > (*rd*) > *r*: *QUARTER (coin)* > *cuarq*.

<sup>1</sup> English verbs passing into New Mexican Spanish add *-iar* (rarely *-ar*) to form the infinitive. Compare the Germanic verbs which passed to the first conjugation in Spanish, except the *-jan* verbs which passed over into the third.

<sup>2</sup> Final *m* always fell in Vulgar Latin, except in a few monosyllables. See Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 309.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *R + L* > *l*, in *velos* < *VERLOS*, etc., § 185.

## Chapter VI.

## Texts in phonetic transcription.

§ 265. As we have said in the beginning of our study (Introduction, § 1) New Mexican Spanish north of Socorro is very uniform. It is necessary to state here, however, that there are a few dialectic differences, though unimportant, which must be carefully studied and considered when it is a question of practical and comparative phonetics, or exact phonetic and morphological change. These local dialectic phenomena have been all mentioned in our study and need not be discussed again. We will now give a brief indication of the important dialect centers, with their dialectic characteristics; then the phonetic transcriptions will follow, first in standard New Mexican Spanish and then in the more important local dialects.

§ 266. Distinguishing phonetic characteristics of the most important local dialect centers or districts<sup>1</sup>:

1. Santa Fé and immediate vicinity to the north and west. Characteristics: a) Most important and oldest local center; b) a greater tendency to voice consonants in difficult groups; c) CEP + cons. > *sau*, exclusively; d) the prefixes *en*, *em* in verbs almost exclusively; e) voiced trilled [r̄] and breathed [r̥] found also when final; f) more varied local vocabulary, and more frequent use of Old Spanish forms; g) less English influence; h) NOS > *los*, extremely common.

2. Albuquerque and the Rio Grande Valley south of Bernalillo and north of Socorro. Characteristics: a) a greater tendency for voiced consonants to become *i*; b) *s* (< *s*, *c*, *z*) > *h*, almost universal; c) the fall of intervocalic *b*, *d*, *g*, *r* more frequent; d) the change ΔE > *e* very common.

3. San Luis Valley, Southern Colorado. Characteristics: a) nasality more widespread; b) the fall of consonants in the different groups and no voicing; c) the fall of intervocalic LL a fixed law; d) initial and double *r* are always tongue-trilled and almost voiceless [r̄]; e) a greater English influence in pronunciation, vocabulary and syntax; f) E, o > *î*, *u*, before all vowels except *i*, *u*; g) the verb forms *ente*, *mente*, etc. more frequent; h) *o*, *e*, open in all positions, whether tonic or atonic.

<sup>1</sup> In vocabulary the differences are more important. Many words used in one locality are often not understood in another. See § 6, note 1.

## I. Standard New Mexican Spanish.

§ 267. Popular „versos“.<sup>1</sup>

1. *El cumanchi y la cumancha*  
*Se jueron á presentar;*  
*Salieron primos hermanos,*  
*No se pudieron casar.*
- [ɛl kumã:çi la kumã:ça  
sɛ xuɛrɔn ʔ pɾɛsɛ:tar,  
saljɛrɔm primɔs ɛrmanɔs,  
nɔ sɛ puðjɛrɔn kʌsar]
2. *De tu ventana á la mía*  
*Me tirates dos abrasos;*  
*El uno me dió en el pecho,*  
*Y el otro s' iso pedasos.*
- [dɛ tɯ vɛ:tana la mía  
mɛ tiratɛ zɔ sʌvrʌsɔs,  
ɛl unɔ mɛ ðjɔ nɛl pɛçɔ  
jɛl ɔtrɔ sisɔ pɛðʌsɔs.]
3. *Si Dios me diera dinero,*  
*Como arenas tiene el mar,*  
*Había (de) gastar como un loco,*  
*Todos los días un real.*
- [sɪ ðjɔh mɛ ðjɛrʌ ðinɛrɔ  
kɔmɯ ʌrɛnah tjɛnɛl mar,  
avjɛ gʌhtar kɔm ũ:lɔkɔ  
tɔðɔ lo zjʌs ũ:rjʌl.]
4. *Vale mas morir á palos*  
*Que de selos padecer.*  
*Vale más querer (á) un perro*  
*Que no (á) una ingrata mujer;*  
*Que un perro es agradesido*  
*Cuando le dan de comer.*
- [balɛ mah mɔrɪr ʔ palɔh  
kɛ dɛ sɛlɔh paðɛsɛr.  
valɛ mah kɛrɛr ũm pɛrɔ  
k'ɛ nũ:nɪŋgratʌ muxɛr;  
k'jũ:pɛrɯ ɛs ʌgrʌðɛsɪdɔ  
kuã:dɔ lɛ dʌ:dɛ kɔmɛr.]
5. *Me han dicho que tienes otro*  
*Que lo quieres mas que á mi;*  
*Gósalo por muchos años,*  
*No le pagues cómo á mi.*
- [mjã:ðjɔ k'ɛ tjɛnɛh ɔtrɔ,  
k'ɛ lɔ k'jɛrɛh mah k'jami,  
gɔsalɔ pɔr mũçɔs ʌñɔh,  
nɔ lɛ paɣɛh kɔmɯʌ mj.]
6. *El venado y la venada*  
*Estaban en una porfía,*  
*La venada que es de noche*  
*Y el venado que es de día.*
- [ɛl vɛnaðu j la vɛnaða  
stʌvan ɛn unʌ pɔrfjʌ  
la vɛnaða k'ɛ zɛ nɔçj  
jɛl vɛnaðu k'ɛz ɛ ðjʌ.]

<sup>1</sup> The New Mexicans call „verso“ a short (usually of four or six lines) popular composition in verse, on varied subjects, recited or sung with guitar accompaniment at home during social gatherings or at dances. The author has collected over 800 of these „versos“, which will be published at some future time.





*Pelao la caye es tuya.*

[pəlaɯ soj tuja.]

*Aquí se peló mi gruya  
Ya le dieron su portante;  
Adios, Chinita de mi alma,  
No me quiso para amante.*

[ák'i sɛ pɛlo mi gruja  
ja le dʲerɔ: sɯ portatɛ  
aɖʲɔh ʧɪnita ɖɛ mi alma  
no mɛ k'iso paɾ amã:tɛ.]

*¿Dónde se haya Cupido, Pelao?*

[ʤɔ:ɖɛ sʲ aja kupido, pəlaɯ?]

*Cupido se haya en la sierra  
En traje de casador;  
Diciendo „que muera, muera,  
La que despresie mi amor“*

[kúpidɔ sʲ aʲɛ:lã sʲɛra  
ɛn traxɛ ɖɛ kasaɖɔɾ  
dʲisʲɛ:ɖɔ k'ɛ muɛra, muɛra  
la k'ɛ ɖɛhpɾɛsʲɛ mi amɔɾ]

*¿Qué hisieras pelao, si te di-  
jiera, que sí?*

[ʤk'i sʲɛraɥ pəlaɯ sʲ tɛ dʲixʲɛra  
k'ɛ si?]

*Échame la culpa á mi  
Si acaso no lo cumpliera.  
Si abra la tierra y nos trague  
Y el mundo nos maldisiera.*

[ɛʧame la kulpa mi  
sʲ akaso no tɛ kũ:plʲɛra,  
sʲ avra la tʲɛɾi nos trage,  
jel mũ:ɖɔ noɥ maldʲisʲɛra]

*Pelao, soy tuya.*

[pəlaɯ soj tuja.]

*Aquí se peló mi gruya  
Ya se volvió á emplumaser.  
Gracias que hayas cabido  
Donde no podías caber.*

[ák'i sɛ pɛlo mi gruja  
ja sɛ vɔlvʲuɛ:plumɛsɛɾ  
grasʲas k'ɛ aʲas kavido  
ɔ:ɖɛ no pɔdʲas kavɛɾ.]

### § 269. Prose text.

*Los dos viajeros.*

*Viajaban una ves en el mesmo buque dos viajeros. Uno era Alemán y el otro era Americano. El Americano no hablaba más que de la América y de sus riquezas, y decía, que l'América era el mijor país del mundo. El Alemán hablaba di Alemaña y decía, que los Alemanes tenían más ilustración que los Americanos y qui Alemaña era la nación más rica del mundo.*

[lɔzɔz vʲaxɛɾɔs.]

[bʲaxavaɯ ɲã vɛs ɛn ɛl mehmɔ  
vuk'ɛ ɖɔz vʲaxɛɾɔs. unɯ ɛɾ aɭɛ-  
mán jel ɔɾu ɛɾ amɛrikanɔ. la-  
mɛrikanɔ nɯ avlavaɯ mah k'ɛ  
ɖɛl amɛrik' i ɖɛ suɥ rik'ɛsas,  
i, dʲisʲã, k'ɛ lamɛrik' ɛɾ ɛl mixɔɾ  
paiz ɛl mũ:ɖɔ. laɭmán avlavaɯ  
ɖʲi aɭɛmaña i dʲisʲã k'ɛ loɥ aɭɛ-  
manɛɥ tɛniã mah ʲʲʲstrasiɔ  
k'ɛloɥ amɛrikanɔs, i k'ʲi aɭɛmañ  
ɛra la naʲsiɔ: mah rikã ɖɛl mũ:ɖɔ.

*Al fin la combersación se puso tan animada que todos los viajeros se arrimaron pa uir la discusión. El Americano dijo, „En América tenemos un río tarre ancho que un buque de vapor se tarda una semana pa pasalo.“ „Eso es nada“, respondió l'Alemán, „en Alemaña hay un río tarre estrecho que no tiene más di una oriya.“*

al fin la k̄õ:bersasiõ: se puho tan animada k'ẽ tõõ loh viaxero si arimaõn pa uir la ðihkusiõn. lamerikano ðixo, „en amerika tẽẽmoh ùn riõ tarria:õõ, kiũ: buk'ẽ vapõr se tard una semana pa pasalo.“ „esũ eh nãã“, rehõõ:diõ lalemán, „en alemañ aĩ ù: riõ tarẽ streõõ k'ẽ nõ tiẽẽ mã zi un oriã.]

## II. Dialectic differences.

§ 270. In § 266 have been mentioned the distinguishing characteristics of the three important local centers. Here will be given two New Mexican „versos“ in phonetic script, representing as accurately as possible these three local dialects.

### 1.

*Cuando quise no quisites  
Y ora que quieres, no quiero;  
Pues yora tu soledá  
Que yo la yoré primero.*

#### Sta. Fé.

[kuã:dõ k'ise nõ k'isitẽh  
iorã k'ẽ k'ierẽh nõ k'iero  
puẽš õrã tu soledã  
k'ẽ iõ la iorẽ primero.]

#### Albuquerque.

[kuãndõ k'ihẽ nõ k'ihiteh  
iorã k'ẽ k'ierẽh nõ k'ierõ  
puẽš õrã tu soledã  
k'ẽ žõ la iorẽ primero]

#### San Luis Valley (Colorado).

[kuã:dõ k'ise nõ k'isitẽh  
iorã k'ẽ k'ierẽh nõ k'iero  
puẽž õrã tu soledã  
k'ẽ iõ la iorẽ primero]

## 2.

*Arbolito enflorado*  
*Verde color de esperansa;*  
*Mi corasón no te olvida,*  
*Ni de quererte se cansa.*

## Sta. Fé.

[arvõlitũ ã:floresidõ  
 verdẽ kõlõr dẽsperã:sã  
 mi kõrasõ nõ tĩ õlvidã  
 ni dẽ kẽrertẽ sẽ kã:sã]

## Albuquerque.

[arvõlitũ ã:floresidõ  
 verdẽ kõlõr dẽsperã:sã  
 mi kõrasõ nõ tĩ õlvidã  
 ni dẽ kẽrertẽ sẽ kã:sã.]

## San Luis Valley.

[arvõl':tũ ã:floresidõ  
 verdẽ kõlõr dẽsperã:sã  
 mi kõrasõ nõ tĩ õlvidã  
 ni dẽ kẽrertẽ sẽ kã:sã]

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